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[The Editor will be pleased to consider manuscripts if accom-
panied by stamped and addressed envelopes. He accepts
no responsibility, however, for manuscripts submitted to him.]

Diary of the Week.

THE Parliament Bill was introduced in the Commons on Wednesday by a majority of 124, 351 against 227. Thus the whole Ministerial force in all its divisions has been brought into the field, and not a single abstention seems to have been hostile. Mr. Asquith's commending speech was a classic example of what the "Times" calls his Macaulayan style. It was at once plain in its orderly neatness and massively imposing in its effect. Its leading theme was a vivid rehearsal of the offences of the Peers against representative Government, crowned by the Act of November, 1909, on which fatal day, said Mr. Asquith, "that House as we have known it, and as our fathers and forefathers knew it, committed political suicide." As for a remedy, the Bill offered the only one for which the people had asked and through which the Constitution could attain a "fuller expression" of the national will.

MR. BALFOUR'S reply was, as usual, alternately attuned to two discrepant notes. With the one hand he offered compromise, pleading that there was agreement in favor of change in the constitution of the Peers and as to the relations of the two Houses, and with the other he signalled that this was one of the issues on which compromise was impossible. He again proffered the Referendum as a means of curing the vagueness of electioneering appeals and the inexactness of the conclusions that statesmen—that is, of course, Liberal statesmen—drew from them.

THE studied vagueness of this language was, on the whole, adhered to by his followers. Sir Robert Finlay denounced the Bill as "violent and revolutionary," and

said that in the process of making the House of Commons all powerful it also degraded it. He too threatened no compromise from the Opposition in the Commons, but abstained from pressing rejection by the Lords. Mr. Smith, speaking on Wednesday, did, indeed, suggest that the English majority against the Bill would support the Opposition in any resistance to it, "however desperate." But he failed to indicate the form which this resistance would take. He insisted that in no great country could a bare majority in the first Chamber claim the right to destroy a Second Chamber. Mr. Churchill gave broader ground to the controversy by insisting that the Bill offered a fair chance, and only a fair chance, to representative government, and that the Opposition had made a fatal blunder in ignoring the proofs of an unshaken will on the part of the people to make representative government sure. It was reckless policy to embroil aristocracy in an attempt to govern a modern State. Not fifty members of the Ministerial Party would follow the Government in a scheme of compromise, and before Mr. Balfour refused an invitation to it, he should make sure that he would receive one. The speech had a great effect on the House and the party.

MEANWHILE the Unionists, in obedience to pressure from the rank and file, have again altered their line of battle in the midst of the engagement. Lord Lansdowne gave notice on Wednesday of his intention to introduce a so-called Reform Bill. The measure is to deal, not with the powers of the Peers, but with their constitution, and it is to be framed, according to the "Times," on the lines of Lord Curzon's speech at the United Club. In other words, the Lansdowne House will consist of about 300 members, two-thirds of them nominated or selected, the other third indirectly elected, and constituted as to all its parts of a Liebig extract of Unionism and Toryism. Such an appeal simply sets up a twice-defeated cause in place of a twice-victorious one, is a movement, not to compromise, but away from it, and is at once a theatrical and a tactless defiance of the verdicts of January and December, 1910. This is deeply felt by the more alert Unionists, who complain, through the "Glasgow Herald," that schemes of selection are "doomed to fail," that the Government will not look at them, and that they have no interest even for the Unionist rank and file, whose only care is for an elective Second Chamber. At the other extreme of the party line, the "Post" inveighs against the destruction of an historic English institution for party tactics.

A VERY important and friendly step has been taken by "an influential personage" in Germany towards promoting the rapidly advancing cause of Anglo-German friendship. This gentleman first canvassed all parties in the Reichstag, from the Right to the Left, and found that they agreed that the recent speeches of Herr Schrader (a kind of German Cobdenite) and of Admiral von Tirpitz in the debate on the Naval Estimates represented the unanimous view of the Chamber. He then asked Reuter to publish in this country a full translation of the official report. The result is a valuable and enlightening document.

Dr. Schrader said that "every parish in Germany" would subscribe to the sentiment, "We do not dream of any hostile attack on England," and added that the time had come for entering into "closer negotiations" with her. He considered that the German fleet had not been overbuilt by so much as the assigned date of a single ship, that it was designed purely for the defence of "our home shores," and not even for the protection of German trade, which did not require a "great fleet of battleships," and that it was time for the navy to enter on a "period of quiet."

THESE declarations were specifically endorsed by Admiral von Tirpitz. It was, he said, an "astonishing mistake" of England that Germany wished to accelerate her ship-building beyond the provisions of the Navy Law. He subscribed "in full" to Herr Schrader's remark that the German fleet was not built for aggressive purposes, and did not need to be. The proof of this was that the "idea" of the Navy Law was deliberately to build a fleet which was "not the strongest." We have every reason to hope and to believe that these sentiments and declarations will meet with a specific and marked response from our own Government, and that any period of rapprochement is near. It should certainly be hastened by the debate in the French Chamber, at the end of which the Government, while refusing a reduction of the year's programme in battleships, consented to a Radical motion pledging the Government to seek a reduction of naval armaments at the Hague, in conjunction with its friends and allies—i.e., with England. This is rather deliberate procedure, but it is in the right direction.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer has very wisely exempted the Guardians from the duty of making good the relief accorded them by the inclusion of paupers in the scheme of Old Age Pensions. This is practically a grant to local taxation of about a million and a quarter. Such a process has its limits, but this special form of it was obviously prudent. We hope, however, that if the Chancellor sees a modest surplus in prospect, he will not forget the breakfast-table duties. A strong party of Liberal members have already petitioned for the abolition of the duties on cocoa. So far as we are aware, the great manufacturers will cheerfully relinquish these taxes. Their abandonment will be at once a sensible reinforcement of the national health, and a step towards the Free Trade ideal of untaxed food.

THE threat of a Russian invasion of Chinese territory has passed as suddenly as it arose. An ultimatum was delivered last week in Peking threatening "a military demonstration on the Chinese frontier" unless six points dealing with Consular jurisdiction and the rights of Russian merchants in Mongolia were at once conceded. The plan was to occupy the Ili district of Chinese Turkestan. China promptly conceded four points, and conditionally accepted the other two. An official announcement has in consequence been made in St. Petersburg that the negotiations will now be continued without military pressure. The "Times" rather decidedly censured this wantonly aggressive diplomacy, and the "Temps," under a certain show of reluctant loyalty to an ally, expressed French displeasure. The suspicion was widely entertained in Paris that Germany had used the Potsdam meeting for the purpose of pushing Russia into a Far Eastern adventure. The dispute was trivial at the best, and the issues were all of a kind which the Tsar might well have referred to the Hague Tribunal which he did so much to create.

THE United States Senate continues to procrastinate in passing the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty, and Mr. Taft has repeated his threat of a special session. In Canada, the main incident in the controversy has been a grotesque attempt to exploit the collusive advocacy of annexation which came from Mr. Champ Clark. On Wednesday, Mr. Monk moved an amendment declaring Canada's determination not to be annexed. Sir Wilfrid Laurier made a suitable reply to a series of mock-herioc loyalist speeches, and the amendment was carried unanimously. While the Conservatives are busy in playing to the gallery with the suggestion that Free Trade means annexation, it is obvious that under all this sentiment there is a measure of real opposition from the interests which reciprocity will disturb. The Boards of Trade (Chambers of Commerce) of Toronto and Winnipeg have passed resolutions against the Treaty with the aid of some Liberal votes. The opposition of the railways and the transport trade is intelligible, but their interests have always been markedly antagonistic to those of the farmers, who do not appear to be influenced by railway loyalism.

THE debate on the Parliament Bill has been varied by a personal issue of some little consequence. A few days ago Mr. Wedgwood wrote an obviously private letter to Mr. Ginnell—a Nationalist free-lance—questioning the Speaker's impartiality and, more directly, the modern practice of furnishing, through the Party Whips, lists of members who wish to speak, and from which, as a fact, he usually, or often, chooses speakers. The letter was wrongly published in an Irish newspaper, and was, of course, a breach of privilege, and a very unjust personal reflection on the Speaker. The two members concerned met the case with a rather different defence. Mr. Wedgwood stated that the letter was private and written on impulse, withdrew whatever was wrong and objectionable in it and handsomely apologised to the Speaker.

MR. GINNELL did not go so far. He admitted that he ought not to have published Mr. Wedgwood's letter. But he argued that, while he had no desire to be personal, the system which led the Speaker to rely on Whips' lists of orators was unconstitutional, and impaired the cherished House of Commons' tradition of perfect equality among members. This was not a withdrawal, and the House, after agreeing that Mr. Ginnell had committed a breach of privilege, proceeded on Mr. Asquith's motion to award him a week's suspension from its debates. The penalty is not a crushing one, but two divisions were taken upon it, for a minority sympathised with Mr. Byles's point that the House, and through it the country, ought to hear not only the desirable speaker, but also the speaker whom his fellow-members do not always wish to hear.

MR. ATHERLEY JONES moved the adjournment of the House on Thursday in order to call attention to the case of the Heswall Reformatory School. We deal with the whole subject elsewhere; but we are bound to say that we agree with Mr. Masterman when, in answer to Mr. Jones's recital of the terrible facts recorded against the management of the school, he denied that his report was a white-washing one. No report could bear that name which records such offences as the "disciplinary" standing of the whole school from 10 o'clock on one night to 5 in the following morning, the "disciplinary" drenching of one boy by others with buckets of cold water, the "disciplinary" flogging of boys in excess of the regulations, the permanent scarring of

twenty-seven boys through flogging (four scars were "of major degree"), and a variety of minor devices in punishment.

* * *

IF in face of these facts—which are not mere inventions of Mr. Adam and "John Bull," but have been sifted out by a careful inquiry—the Home Office concludes that the case for the dismissal of the superintendent responsible for them fails on the ground that he had greatly ameliorated the boys' condition, what kind of a hell on earth must this institution once have been? And what must we say of the inspectors and the managers who allowed it all to go on? And what, again, if Heswall is a favorable example of these schools, is to be said of the unfavorable specimens? These are very grave questions, and because of them we should prefer a freer body than a Departmental Committee. The Home Office is clearly on its trial as well as the Superintendent; and we hope that so very vigorous and open-minded a chief as Mr. Churchill will lay open the whole ground of complaint.

* * *

THE Cabinet crisis in Turkey is not yet completely settled, but the Government has made up its mind to survive. It will allow the Young Turk caucus to weed out the Ministers in whom it had lost confidence. The Premier is evidently too weak to resist the pressure of the Committee, but his pliability has, at all events, prevented an open breach between the Army and the Parliament. The new Minister of the Interior, Halil Bey, has begun well by issuing a strongly worded circular to provincial officials in which he warns them that they must accord equal treatment to citizens of all nationalities, and also that they must respect the rights of Europeans under the capitulations. If this means anything, it is a rebuke to Chauvinistic excesses.

* * *

THE Russian troops which are occupying Persian territory with the professed object of protecting European life and property have this week been engaged in giving the Persians a lesson in discipline and order. The garrison stationed at Ardebil went out to hunt a certain Persian brigand, whom they were not content to leave the Persians themselves to deal with. He had the bad taste to defend himself, and one or two Cossacks were killed in the skirmish. Incensed at this, the Russian troops fell upon a village named Veramun where the brigand had recently taken shelter, and failing to find him there, massacred the inhabitants and violated some of the women. About fifty unarmed peasants are believed to have been killed, including twelve women. The facts are admitted, and the Russian Minister has at least had the grace to apologise to the Persian Government. After this exploit the Russian troops might well retire on the ground that their mission of civilisation is accomplished.

* * *

WE have received a copy of the memorandum to the Home Office, in which the Parliamentary Conciliation Committee support their request for an inquiry into the conduct of the police during the women's demonstrations of November last. We are bound to say that we disapprove both the policy and one particular method of the Committee. Two courses were open to it. They might have carefully collected evidence of the worst, or most salient, cases of misconduct they allege, and have prosecuted the supposed offenders. Or they might have collected this evidence and put it privately before the Home Office, reserving the right to publish if redress were refused. Instead of taking this course, they not only publish the evidence at once, but they couple

with it a charge, or a suggestion, of gross misconduct against the Home Office, of which no kind of proof is offered. Their statement is that the police believed themselves "to be acting almost under unlimited licence to treat the women as they pleased"; that is to say, to terrorise them, and that, in pursuance of this instruction, they spared their victims hardly any degree of "humiliation and pain." The Committee ask whether any such verbal orders were given. It seems to us they have no right to make such a suggestion, which we feel to be quite incredible. But how can they expect the department against which it is aimed to comply with a request so preferred?

* * *

AS to the evidence itself, we find ourselves in much perplexity. It is produced months after the events to which it refers, and it differs much in character. Some of it we are inclined to put down to the obvious fact that force applied to violent or resisting demonstrations of women assumes a different physical aspect to force when it is used against a street crowd of violent or resisting men. The average London policeman is a very powerful man, used to breaking up an obstructive crowd by rushing and "shoving" at it. When he acts individually he usually acts extremely well. But when he deals with crowds his conduct is, in our view of it, often far from faultless. We hope that several revolting stories told by some of the Conciliation Committee's witnesses were based on misconception of the facts. But they have an unpleasant look, and we hope that Mr. Churchill will in one way or another look strictly into them.

* * *

WE hope that Mr. Churchill will persevere with his great work of reforming the prison system, in which he may be assured he has a great mass of opinion behind him, including all the opinion of which he need take account. He has put his fingers on the two great blots of that system; the thoughtless and unequal sentences of the judges, and the grave deficiencies of our method of dealing with habitual or recurring criminals. For that purpose he proposes to set up a General Council, which should both strengthen and watch the not always satisfactory work of the societies dealing with discharged prisoners. He has also issued a searching memorandum, the effect of which should be to put some check on the deplorably loose and sometimes dangerous and cruel working of the Preventive Detention Act. But much the best of all his changes is, in our view, his determination to see for himself what the prison system is like.

* * *

A CURIOUS little episode has revealed the Kaiser in an altogether novel light. An officer who, as the consequence of a painful scandal, had attempted to commit suicide, was condemned by the Court of Honor of his regiment, not merely on other counts, but specifically for this offence, in which they oddly saw a violation of his military oath. The Kaiser has quashed the verdict and rebuked this curious way of thinking, on the ground that a man who takes his life must answer only to his conscience and his God. There is much annoyance in clerical circles, both Catholic and Evangelical, which seem to prefer a secular tribunal in such matters. But Jurists and Liberals are as startled as they are pleased. It has long been the boast of German jurists that their civil code is free from the traditional barbarism which, on this point, still lingers in our own country. No German judge attempts to stamp out suicide. It is thought that of recent years the Kaiser has become, in many respects, less medieval.

Politics and Affairs.

NO COMPROMISE AND A CONTRADICTION.

THE Parliament Bill has been read a first time by the overwhelming majority of 124 after a debate in which all the honors rested with the Government. Mr. Asquith's speech was a model of lucid, reasoned, and compact exposition; Mr. Churchill's a broad and glowing expression of democratic faith, and an unanswerable exposure of the grievances and humiliations inflicted on the popular party by the House of Lords. Mr. Balfour's reply visibly halted between at least two opinions. At one moment he maintained the theory of the indirectly representative character of the House of Lords. It was not the House of Commons, but Parliament as a whole, that represented the people. At another he was admitting the impossibility of the existing system and clamoring, with Lord Lansdowne and Lord Rosebery, for reform. At yet another he was throwing over the representative principle altogether, and pleading for the Referendum on the ground that a General Election held on mixed issues gave no clear mandate. As to this, Mr. Balfour is metaphysician enough to remember the force of the Method of Agreement. There have been three elected Houses of Commons sitting at Westminster within the last fifteen months. Their composition differed in some respects. The questions before the electorate differed in important respects on each occasion on which they were chosen. But in one thing all those Houses of Commons have agreed. They have agreed in desiring to curtail the Veto of the House of Lords, and it is, therefore, by a sound inductive method that we infer that this desire, persisting while other things change, is the real desire of the constituents and a genuine mandate from the people.

What is important, however, in the speeches of Mr. Balfour, and of a new leader of the Opposition in the debate, Mr. F. E. Smith, is not their arguments, which lack novelty, but their hints of policy, which convey real information. Even here we do not find complete agreement. Mr. Balfour ends a double-meaning speech with an apparently deliberate declaration of no compromise. Mr. F. E. Smith slips an invitation to compromise into the interval of his thunders. Presumably, what Mr. Smith would like would be that the movement for compromise should come from the Government. But this is an empty dream. The Parliament Bill is already a compromise in that it gives a delay of two years instead of one to the Lords, in that it reduces the term of the House of Commons, in that in the preamble it foreshadows reform. No further reduction of the claim of the Commons would be tolerated for a moment by any section of the Ministerial majority. The Unionist Party must make its account with the dominant fact—that the Government has the power, as it has the will, to carry the Parliament Bill into law over the heads of the House of Lords before the year has run its course.

Faced by this determination, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Smith reply that they and their friends, including, of course, their friends in another place, will have no part

or lot in the matter. There is to be no surrender, no compromise now, and in the good time to come, when the popularity of food taxes shall have wafted them back into power, they will undo the work of the wicked Radicals, and set the Lords on their legs again, with a Veto furbished up anew in all the glory of its pristine strength. But will they be able to do it? It is strange that the Unionist leaders fail to see the inconsistency of the double threat. If the Lords hold out to the last, they will compel the Government to create peers, a hundred, two hundred, three hundred if necessary—for every Conservative Backwoodsman a Liberal Pioneer. The result will be a Liberal majority in the House of Lords pledged to pass and to maintain the principle of the limitation of the veto. How will the future Conservative Government deal with such a situation? Will they in turn take to the creation of peers, the very expedient which they are now covering with ridicule? Do they conceive that for such a purpose the country would support them, and do they picture themselves going to the constituencies with this programme in their hands? Do they want a fourth defeat in succession? We do not think that on reflection they will play from this suit. In fine, the Opposition may elect to fight to the last this year, and force a creation of peers. Or they may surrender under protest, announcing their determination to reverse the Parliament Bill when, if ever, they return to power. But they cannot play both cards at once.

Lastly, the policy of independent reform announced by Lord Lansdowne is not calculated to help the game of the Opposition in the House of Commons. It remains to be seen whether Lord Lansdowne has anything to propose better worth consideration than the vague and futile schemes of last November. But to begin with the proposal for reform is an admission of the preliminaries of the Liberal case. It is a recognition that under the Balfour-Lansdowne leadership the present constitution has become impossible. Further, the case for reform does not meet the case against the Veto. Reform there will be. The House of Lords need have no fears on that point. It is going to be reformed, and drastically. But it is the House of Commons that will decide in what way and on what principles. Mr. Balfour would have us regard both Houses as representative. As a description of the existing House of Lords this is a polite fiction, but we may call on Mr. Balfour to assist in giving effect to his principle. This will be brought about if the House of Lords is transformed into a Second Chamber, avowedly secondary to the House of Commons, and representing a past as well as a present House of Commons. If, for example, one-half of the Second Chamber were elected on a proportional system by each new House of Commons, and held their seats through two Parliaments, the Second Chamber would correct the swing of the pendulum, and might exercise with some impartiality those formidable powers of delaying legislation which the Parliament Bill will assure to it. If, again, the Lords were willing to delegate their effective powers of criticism to a Joint Committee, on which the majority in the Commons possessed a small but effective majority, the setting up of a "fair" Second

Chamber might be an accomplished fact. But no proposal of reform, whether on representative or non-representative lines, can affect the question of the ultimate supremacy of the House of Commons, which is the sole issue now before the public. No Reform Bill of Lord Lansdowne or of any other peer is relevant to the passage or the rejection of the Parliament Bill. The Lords will have to take the Bill or leave it; and if they leave it, it will return upon them in the autumn backed by a sufficient number of new peers to carry it into law, and to maintain it as law.

THE PREPARATION FOR HOME RULE.

IN the course of last week's debate on the Home Rule amendment to the Address, the Prime Minister turned a question from Lord Hugh Cecil, as to the means by which the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament would be maintained, with the genially evasive answer, "*Solvitur ambulando*." The answer, lightly given by way of parrying the thrusts of an acute and persistent Parliamentary heckler, might none the less serve as a motto for much that is habitual in English statesmanship. We generally do solve questions in that way. Lord Hugh wittily suggested a neat translation. It means, he thinks, "walking through the division lobbies." A statesman solves most of his difficulties, under the conditions of the modern party system, by relying on the legs of his followers. Somehow, they always do the necessary walking. A more exact translation would, perhaps, be "muddling through." It is the tendency of party leaders, absorbed in the tactical needs of a situation which changes with a fascinating variety from day to day and week to week, to leave the coming problem to adjust itself. It is down for next session in the programme, as a speech may be down in the statesman's diary for next month. When next session arrives, the Bill will be drafted pretty much as when next month comes the speech will be prepared. In the hurry and bustle of party warfare a statesman takes his problems as they come. The solutions are necessarily a little empirical. They are the work of men who are forced to live for the day, and they are apt to show the limitations of such hasty workmanship.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the more obvious of the problems which lie on the surface of Home Rule. There is the issue raised by Lord Hugh Cecil. In what form will the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament be asserted? Will there still be an Irish Secretary, who will advise the Crown to give or refuse its assent to the Bills passed by an Irish Parliament, and answer for his advice to the Parliament at Westminster? That is the procedure in the case of Colonies, and while, in the early years of Irish autonomy, it might be used effectively on grave occasions, all the analogies and the practice of our Empire suggest that it would in time become an effete and obsolete check. Yet it is the common wish of both parties to the settlement that the check, however it may operate, should be a reality. Nothing would go so far to reconcile the more reasonable section of the Protestant minority to their position as the knowledge

that there existed a vigilant Court of Appeal before which they might bring for review any legislation which, in their opinion, menaced their liberties. The risk of intolerance is not, to our thinking, a real one. A race which chose as its national leaders two Protestants in succession, Butt and Parnell, cannot fairly be accused of exclusive sympathies. The immense influence which the parish priest exerted in the past, mainly for good, is no longer so absolute as it was. He owed it, in great part, to the fact that he was usually the one man in the district who had education enough to enable him to stand against the landlord. Education to-day is more widely diffused, and the landlord has been bought out. But though clericalism may not be an enemy, the fear of clericalism is a danger which must be met. Mr. Redmond has himself recognised that it is by establishing the reality of the Imperial Parliament's supremacy that confidence can best be given to the minority. The form in which this supremacy shall be asserted depends on the attitude which is ultimately adopted towards the question of federalism. It is difficult to imagine any satisfactory adjustment of the thorny question of the inclusion of the Irish members in the Parliament at Westminster which does not involve an adjustment of the functions of the House of Commons to suit the case, not merely of Ireland, but of the other three nationalities for which it stands.

These questions are central; they will not be "solved by walking." We may be sure that they have engaged, and will still engage, the attention of a Cabinet which for two years of conference and conflict will have been busied continually with the larger constitutional issues. Yet, vital though these are, it is questionable whether the success of Home Rule ultimately turns upon them. There is another problem, on which hangs the whole internal future of an Irish State. From the plantations to the famine, and from the famine to land purchase, it is finance and economics which have been the real basis of the Irish question. It is a sentimental illusion which treats the religious difficulty as the fountain of Irish trouble. A Catholic in the darker centuries of the island's history was a man forbidden to hold land, and restrained from the exercise of his brains in a profession. The consequences of a poverty which this persecution imposed, from motives which partook more of greed than of fanaticism, have made the Irish question as it is to-day. It has been complicated in its financial aspects as much by our recent efforts to make amends as by our earlier oppressions. There is for the foundation of the whole difficulty that fundamental injustice of over-taxation which a Royal Commission established with an approach to unanimity. There is the further complication of land purchase, which based an Irish reform upon British credit. There is the more recent complication of old age pensions, which has given to a race, in which the aged poor form a larger proportion than they do among ourselves, while the standard of living is lower, a benefit out of all proportion to any contribution which Ireland makes to the new revenues from the super-tax and unearned increment. It is on the whole re-adjustment between Imperial and local burdens that the future of the Irish State may turn. Crippled

in finance, it would encounter, when it came to grapple with all its concrete problems of internal development, nothing but that disillusion which fosters unrest.

Here, clearly, is a problem that must be solved, not by walking but by counting. In this single financial issue lies work which must somehow be overtaken by careful study before a workable Home Rule Bill can be framed. The question, moreover, is not without its bearings on the problem of Ulster. Is it really a narrow but idealistic fanaticism which underlies the fear of Home Rule? Is it merely prejudice, and the memory of a long ascendancy, that stand in the way of appeasement? Does this competent, hard-headed race, with Protestant England and Scotland behind it, seriously dread the risk of intolerant legislation? There are men who know Ulster, who entertain a shrewd suspicion that here also the root of the difficulty is economic. It is conceivable that what wealthy Ulster really fears is not intolerant legislation, or partial administration, but "predatory" taxation. Agrarian Ireland will want resources for its own development. The division of races is in some part a division of interests. The Protestant industrialist is pitted against the Catholic farmer. It is just conceivable that, in the adjustment of burdens, the agrarian majority might be tempted to deal brusquely with the industrial minority. There are clearly arguments which could with some force be urged in favor of the plan which the still-born scheme of devolution propounded. It is essential that an Irish Parliament should be free to deal with its own expenditure, to economise here, and develop there. It may be less essential in the first instance that it should wield the power of taxation. As a purely temporary measure, and for a fixed term of years, there might be wisdom in an arrangement which would hand over to the Irish Exchequer a fixed sum from Imperial taxation to meet its local needs. As a permanent arrangement such a proposal would certainly and properly be rejected by Irish sentiment. But it has advantages which might commend it as a method of helping us through the difficult early years before the two main constituents of the Irish people have got to understand and work with each other. The year that lies between us and the production of a Home Rule Bill might well be spent in the study of such questions by a small expert Committee. We cannot afford to muddle our way into Home Rule. Three Bills have failed. The next must show a maturity and a finality which none of its predecessors could boast.

IMPERIAL PROBLEMS—REAL AND UNREAL.

A PLAINER, more wholesome, though a less stimulating fare is to be set before the Imperial Conference which meets this May than before its predecessor. The interminable futility of Imperial Preference will no longer waste the time of serious politicians, and the problems of Imperial Defence, which occupied much time and attention in the 1907 Conference, have attained a temporary solution by means of the special Conference summoned two years ago. The removal of these issues is likely to give prominence to the constitutional pro-

posals which New Zealand has drafted on the relations between the Empire and the Mother Country. Certain of these proposals have been discussed at former Conferences, and in particular the demand for a reconstruction of the Colonial Office, with a view to a separate department in the self-governing Dominions, and a new machinery of consultation and communication between the Imperial and the Dominion Governments, will probably attain clear and peremptory expression. But it is more doubtful whether any such general acceptance can be expected for the more detailed constructive policy which New Zealand seems to favor. This is the establishment of an "Imperial Council of State, with representatives for all the constituent parts of the Empire, whether self-governing or not, in theory and in fact advisory to the Imperial Government on all questions affecting the interest of his Majesty's Dominions overseas." The establishment of such a Council, with the related proposal that the High Commissioners for the several Dominions should act as Ambassadors, enjoying the right to attend meetings of the Committee of Defence, to consult with Foreign Ministers, and to communicate with their Governments on matters affecting the Empire "with a view to these Governments expressing their opinions," would, in effect, involve the Dominions in a closer responsibility for our Imperial and foreign policy than such countries as Canada or South Africa seem likely to contemplate. It is, indeed, not without significance that the most advanced proposals for closer political union proceed on this occasion, as on the last, from Australasia. Canada, the oldest, wealthiest, and most populous of the Dominions, finds "no questions of sufficient urgency to call for suggestions on her part."

It may, we think, be taken for granted that neither Canada nor South Africa will promote the establishment of an Imperial Council of State, or any similar machinery which may draw their countries into a measure of formal responsibility for the foreign policy of this country. For they will be well aware that in any such Council Great Britain would claim, on behalf of India and her Crown Colonies, a predominant voice. The result of this would be that the Dominions would find themselves drawn into closer and more expensive responsibilities for Imperial defence, without obtaining any real control over Imperial policy. Canada is less likely than ever before to take any step likely to imperil the national independence she virtually enjoys. Apart, therefore, from a business reorganisation of the Colonial Office, and some improved status for the High Commissioners, it seems unlikely that any organic constitutional reforms will receive the general assent of the Conference.

The most genuinely profitable subjects for discussion are of a less ambitious character, and they have mostly a commercial bearing. In 1914 a number of commercial treaties with Continental nations expire, and the negotiations for their renewal have important consequences for Imperial trade. In an extremely able book, written by Mr. Geoffrey Drage in preparation for this Conference, "The Imperial Organisation of Trade" (Smith, Elder & Co.), the writer indicates a number of important steps which might be taken by the several parts of the

Empire in furtherance of commercial intercourse. The Empire does, indeed, provide a common language. But it has no uniformity in weights and measures, or in legislation upon trade marks, patents, or copyrights. Much remains to be done in the development of commercial agencies and other means of trade information. In the furtherance of inter-Imperial trade, upon a basis of facilities of communication and of transport, a great field of serviceable work lies open before such a Conference. On this subject, however, one word of warning is needed. We see that on the programme the subject of an "All Red Route" appears. Now, though it is in every way desirable that it shall be made as easy as possible for persons and for goods to move from one part of the Empire to another, facilities of transport must not be purchased by the subsidy of transport companies. A Government firmly committed, as ours is, to the principle and practice of Free Trade must not depart from them by any endeavor to direct the course of commerce by means of bounties. Any such artificial encouragement of Imperial trade is as much a contravention of Free Trade as a system of direct tariff preference.

Among the suggestions made by the Imperial Government, the most important have relation to immigration; and the first, relating to British Indians, might well raise what is in our judgment the most serious of all our Imperial problems. For all talk about the unity and solidarity of our Empire has an air of unreality so long as the units of that Empire, the men and women who compose its human substance, do not enjoy so much community of citizenship that they can move freely upon the surface of that Empire. There is not one of the great self-governing Dominions which does not refuse admission to its shores to the vast majority of British subjects. We do not, indeed, presume to condemn them for pushing a policy which they hold essential to protect the social and economic order of their countries. But we cannot refrain from pointing out that the pursuance of the policy is nothing else than a permanent declaration of separation and disunion. For there can be no real political or social unity unless liberty of movement and of personal intercourse is secured. The unanimous refusal of the self-governing Dominions to allow to the colored subjects of our Empire any free access to their shores, or any freedom of life within their shores, introduces a fatal rift within the Empire. It shows, in fact, that the British Empire comprises two different and opposite entities. It comprises a group of self-governing nations in generally sympathetic relations with one another, enjoying substantially the same free institutions and consulting with one another as equal members of a family. It also combines a number of groups of colonies and possessions, mostly occupied by colored peoples, on a lower plane of development, enjoying no full freedom of self-government, but subject in the last resort to the arbitrary will of Great Britain. Between these two confines is no community of fact or feeling. If the closer political federation of the Dominions and Great Britain were desirable in the interests of political security, it would nevertheless be precluded by the very fact of the existence of the great "unfree Empire." In that

Empire the people of our free dominions have no part, and for it they will never consent to assume a genuine and formal responsibility.

SHOULD THE DECLARATION OF LONDON BE SANCTIONED?

AFTER two years of indifference, our Chambers of Shipping and Commerce have suddenly begun to bestir themselves about the new international code of naval warfare which goes by the name of the Declaration of London. This instrument is really a code of the rules supposed to be practised by all nations, upon which jurists are more or less agreed. But it is not a mere codification; for, in order to obtain general assent, it was necessary for the various Governments to come together and arrange compromises, or make concessions, upon points of divergence. Roughly speaking, there has always been a difference between England and the Continental Powers. It came to clear light in a famous controversy between Grotius and Selden. The British claim to be Mistress of the Seas, and to make into naval law whatever suited its purpose, lasted right down to the Crimean War, when at last, under the pressure of new commercial conditions, we reluctantly consented to abstain from privateering, and to ratify the rights of neutrals. It were cruel to inflict upon lay readers a treatise about the technicalities and quibbling refinements in which international jurists rejoice. The main thing to remember is that a law of naval warfare has gradually emerged in spite of the brute-force men, who still declare that laws and treaties are of no avail—that, when once war is declared, all honor, all restraint, all truth, all law give place to fraud, licence, deceit, and anarchy. No doubt, so long as human nature exists, all these elements will co-exist; and, while we hope they will dwindle in peace, we know they will multiply in war. Hence, those who labor for humanity are more anxious to eliminate war than to regulate it, just as it is better to prevent a disease than to circumscribe and limit its ravages. But both means are useful and necessary. Society may gratefully reflect that—though the cruiser is still built to hunt for prizes and prize-money—its predecessors, the jolly pirate and the polished privateer, have been struck off the roll of naval honor. Similarly, while peaceful merchantmen may still be seized if they are owned by the citizens of a hostile Government (even though insured elsewhere), neutral commerce has at least made some way towards winning the freedom of the seas.

Whatever may be thought about the Declaration of London, we can all rejoice that it should be exciting so much intelligent interest. It could hardly have been expected that two representatives of the Admiralty and two legal officials of the Foreign Office should command the full confidence of merchants and shipowners. Possibly, if there had been some consultation beforehand with Parliament and the public, some defects of the treaty would have been removed. Plain business men, who make pretty substantial contributions to the upkeep of the Navy and the Exchequer, are not content to see their vital interests disposed of *in camera* by repre-

sentatives, however able and well-informed they may be, of the fighting services. Nor is it wise, when Chambers of Commerce make substantial objections, to tell off a clever clerk to inform them that they are under a misapprehension, and do not understand what they are talking about. We agree that the Foreign Office has made a good defence of itself in the "Correspondence respecting the Declaration of London," and our general view is that, comparing the treaty with the state of law, or no law, or little and vague law which it supersedes, the argument for ratification outweighs the hostile contention. But there will remain numbers of intelligent persons who (like Sir John Glover) want the law to be codified, and yet regard this particular code as so defective that—if no amendment is possible—they would rather go on a little longer and wait until the Government can negotiate a more perfect instrument. There can be no doubt, looking back at the Hague Conferences and the attitude of the Governments of the United States and Germany, that a distinctly superior code, guaranteeing security to our merchant ships and our food supplies, could have been secured if Sir Edward Grey had instructed Sir Edward Fry to support to the last the project for exempting all peaceful merchant ships, and all non-contraband goods, from capture or destruction. All that would then have been required would have been a list of absolute contraband. That would have been a grand step in advance, something attempted and something done towards commercial security and towards solving the problem of armaments.

But the Government has failed in this. It has not had the moral courage to take the golden key; and the door which now opens offers a less tempting landscape. The advantages of accepting the Declaration are substantial, but they will hardly kindle enthusiasm. A shrewd and broad-minded director of shipping, like Sir James Mackay, welcomes the certainty of a definite and accepted law, backed by an impartial court of justice for neutral prizes. These are real assets, which some people are in danger of overlooking, and others of under-estimating. In some circumstances a defective law which is certain may be better even than a good one which is disputed, and considering the recent practice of France and Russia regarding the treatment of food as contraband, and our own earlier method during the French wars, we cannot speak of the *status quo* as either "good," or even tolerable. By this line of argument we are just able to conclude that British representatives were entitled to admit the claim of some foreign Powers to proclaim food as contraband and to destroy neutral prizes untried in mid-ocean. But the Foreign Office may recognise frankly that these are two weak spots in the Declaration. Would it not have been better to leave one or two blanks, which could have been filled in by decisions of the Hague Court, or by a future Conference, than to abandon our right of protest against claims as indefensible as those which we ourselves maintained in the eighteenth century? Even as things stand, it may be well to make reservations or negotiate for amendments. The provision that food going to "a naval base" may be treated as contra-

band is so vague that a court might conscientiously apply it to almost any port in the United Kingdom. If the word "fortified" were prefixed, or a schedule of fortified ports accepted, the clauses would be less objectionable. The word "commerçant" seems somewhat wide, though we cannot agree that, taking the sense of clauses 33 and 34 together, we are wrong in translating it as "contractor"—i.e., Government contractor—rather than as "trader." But when all is said, the fate of the Declaration has been endangered mainly by the want of inquiry and the want of publicity. It is not enough to be told that admirals and lawyers know more and care more than merchants and shippers about the true interests of commerce. We are a peculiar people, and we have not the Continental faith in officials. The Declaration of London will, we hope, effect a reasonable improvement in the existing law. It advances the principle of international law, and provides the scheme of international interpretations required by some of the blank pages of the Declaration of Paris. That is a benefit which our traders cannot lightly forego.

MR. BALFOUR'S DILEMMA.

MR. BALFOUR is always most interesting when he is in one of the many difficult passes to which his tardy and indecisive strategy has conducted him. Then his likeness, which is physical as well as intellectual, to some agile and gracefully resourceful animal, hard-pressed by its natural pursuers, impresses itself so forcibly on the imagination that his speech becomes attractive beyond even the merits of its style and train of thought. You are not alarmed for the elegant hunted creature, for you know that however close the hunters beset his track, he will just win clear of them. The escape, indeed, is rather for the dialectical purposes of the hour. Such reality as it possesses hangs on the subtle distinction that Gladstone once made between his mental vision of Gordon at Khartoum as a man exposed to inconveniences and restrictions in the shape of besieging hordes of fanatics, but retaining an ample spiritual reserve of free locomotion. "The right hon. gentleman admits that General Gordon is surrounded," insisted a Tory critic. The great man raised a protesting finger: "I said hemmed in—not surrounded." In that sense is Mr. Balfour at once free and encompassed. Nominally he leads a party; really he pursues an Actæon-like existence, alternately winded by his own hounds and visibly baulking them. Actual capture, the painful brutal worrying of the victors, to the accompaniment of unpleasant sights and sounds and material processes, never quite occurs.

The conditions of such an existence must necessarily be somewhat unreal. Nothing on Mr. Balfour's lips, and probably also in his mind, can be like what it is to the average observer. Just as for Mr. Balfour's purposes Protection must be christened a kind of cousin-german to Free Trade, so a stunning and paralysing defeat—the third in succession—must be made to have a reassuring look of victory. The House of Commons does not, perhaps, furnish an ideal atmosphere for this kind of optical illusion. On the contrary, its physical conformation, like its mental environment, is direct to the point of brusqueness. Thus it possesses only two sides—a Right and a Left of the Speaker's chair. Those who sit to the Right are the Ins; those who sit to the Left are the Outs. Mr. Balfour sits to the Left. He has sat there for five or six years; and he is never likely to sit anywhere else. But this is a free land; and as the hero conquers death and pain by virtue of his immortal and invulnerable will, so is the metaphysician a scorner of time and place. Nothing, for example, hinders an ingenious dialectician from arguing that a scientific disclosure of the electoral intelligence—a kind

of Royal Commission on the Sub-conscious Self—might convict it of a regrettable lack of precision in its findings. This was the opening movement of the somewhat languid fantasies through which Mr. Balfour's speech of Tuesday played in and out. Mr. Asquith seemed to suppose that, last December, it gave him a mandate for the Veto Bill. But consultants of an oracle usually got from it the answer they wanted to get, and how could the thoughts of the people be so disintegrated and specialised as to yield a verdict for everything that an ensuing Ministry might choose to do? Thus, in Mr. Balfour's view, the defects of the representative system made the system itself absurd by sterilizing its fruits. Needless to say, they sterilized it for all progressive purposes. When Mr. Balfour's party is in favor, this opaque electoral mind assumes a piercing clarity. An absent-minded people may, indeed, yield a Liberal Government power to do things it never contemplated; but when a Tory Ministry is in prospect, it works with an intensity of vision that takes in every conceivable legislative practice of the victorious faction.

The plain man, listening to Mr. Balfour's strictly *ad hoc* casuistry, might not have made very much of it, and perhaps the rather sulky silence of his followers was due less to the fact that they disapproved it than that they failed to see what their illustrious organiser of sempiternal defeat was driving at. Their embarrassment did not visibly decrease when he came to discuss the tactics of the hour. What, indeed, was he to say? The Prime Minister, in a speech of uncompromising bluntness, had rehearsed the long catalogue of presumptuous errors which ended in the destruction of the Budget of 1909. Mr. Balfour's face showed his sense of the damning nature of the rehearsal. Did he will these follies, or did he permit them, not willing them? He stands condemned on either theory; his responsibility is absolute, and, in face of it, he has now to take the gravest decision of all. Every phrase of his following speech was, therefore, searched for light on his personal attitude. Would he, or would he not, advise the peers to reject the Veto Bill? Or would he suggest a bowing of the head, coupled with reservations as to the future, a general policy of repealing the Liberal measure and replacing it by a Tory scheme of reform?

He spoke, as long and unfortunate experience compels him to speak, with the double voice of a politician exhausted by unsuccessful labors and doubtful of his powers of leadership and persuasion. Should he visibly yield the form of illicit power which his control of the Lords had secured him through three electoral defeats? Pride and subtlety alike forbade such a surrender. But he angled delicately for a clue; throwing a fly now to one side of the stream, now to another. He spoke of compromise, hinting at a fresh Conference, suggested the nearness of parties to each other, their practical agreement on the governing issues, the scandal of a quarrel pushed to extremities and carried to the very steps of the Throne. Did not all desire a change in the composition of the Lords, and in the relationship of the two Houses? Were not the Liberals, like the Tories, Second Chamber men, and did not the preamble of their own Bill pledge them to a reformed House of Lords? This was bait for the moderate Liberals; it drew but one doubtful fish. The following Labor and Liberal speeches scouted the idea of a fresh Conference.

It was hardly more attractive to the party behind him. Probably they did not follow its more refined implications, but he seemed to take their silence as a signal for fighting tactics. So, changing his note, with some precipitancy, from cajolery to menace, he declared that the Bill set up an intolerable constitutional interval, during which bicameralism would practically be in abeyance. On such grounds there was no room for compromise; such a Bill could only be passed over the heads of its opponents. Loud was the cheering, the volume of it passing with a flash from the Left to the Right of the Chamber. The speaker may not have meant to evoke passion; or, evoking it, may hope to manage it a little later on. He may have meant merely to reserve the

more distant future, not to force a bootless challenge for the approaching hour. He can hardly think that the Government will drop or modify their Bill. He cannot but see that the ensigns of irregular power have fallen from his hand now that two successive verdicts in a twelvemonth have been delivered against the Lords, and that even the power of effective postponement has disappeared. But the defect of this logician in words is that the logic of facts continually escapes him. Resistance to the Veto Bill will not save the Lords; it can only add social humiliation to political defeat. But parties are not governed by reason; and a deliberate rationalist of the type of Mr. Balfour has very limited powers of controlling them. Will and far-sightedness are what they need; and these qualities spring from a deeper and sincerer nature than his. So in the name of reason, he may pander to unreason; and in the name of moderation, complete and enlarge the wide cycle of constitutional change to which he has driven the Liberal Party and the country. That, at least, is what the House thought of his speech; what his own thought was lies hidden in the mazes of an interesting but too calculating mind. Mr. F. E. Smith, who is calculating enough, but who floats more lightly than Mr. Balfour over the shallows of political thought, kindly acted later on as his leader's interpreter, underlining both the cajolery and the threats. Neither method is of much consequence. The tremendous—the almost unparalleled—demonstration that greeted the Prime Minister as he notified the passage of the first stage of the Bill by the full Ministerial majority, was evidence of where lie the Will and the Power to bring this great matter to an issue.

H. W. M.

Life and Letters.

THE PRIVATE MEMBER.

THE real significance of the Ginnell episode lies far otherwise than in the particular offence and the not unendurable penalty inflicted on the offender. There was no sympathy manifested in any quarter of the House with the imputation of unfairness to a Speaker who, by the common consent, has succeeded in reducing impartiality to a fine art. But the hundred members who voted for the amendment to Mr. Asquith's resolution undoubtedly gave open expression to a serious feeling of dissatisfaction with their position as Parliament men, widely prevalent among private members of all parties. The special grievance, which found vent on this occasion, the practical denial to ordinary members of any opportunity to contribute to debate on occasions of importance, may well appear less serious to the general public than to the honorable members whose wisdom and eloquence are refused an outlet in the House. Indeed, the technical answer is complete. The pressure of business has involved the setting of rigorous time limits on debate. The Speaker is often compelled to choose a few among many who may rise to catch his eye. In making his choice, he is naturally, and rightly, motivated by the wish to choose men who he has reason to suppose have something valuable to contribute to debate, and whom the House desires to hear, doing justice in his selection to the several parties. Consultation with the party Whips follows as a matter of obvious convenience, and the economy of the debating resources of the party involves the practical suppression of the ordinary good party man. The bad party man is not, in fact, suppressed, as was humorously illustrated in the case of Mr. Wedgwood, the member primarily responsible for last week's disturbance, whose contribution towards the discussion of last session was shown to have exceeded that of some Cabinet Ministers. Under the actual system it certainly appears inevitable, and even proper, that debate should be chiefly confined to members of the two front benches closely interested in the particular issue, together with such few private members as are indicated to the Speaker as men of weight and special knowledge of the issue. Such time as may remain would not un-

naturally fall to free-lances who have won some sort of individual reputation for force and brilliancy of dialectic.

Where, then, does the grievance which arouses discontent really lie? Like most grievances, it lies not against a man, but against a system. The Speaker is not to blame, the Whips are not to blame for the elaborate mechanism of rules, usages, and agreements which in the House of Commons restricts the liberty and the individuality of the ordinary member. There seems no other way in which the business of the country can get done.

The loss of effective opportunities to take part in debates of the House is, of course, only one of the losses which private members have sustained in recent years. Their right to criticise or to direct policy by resolution has virtually disappeared in modern Parliaments, and though a few opportunities are still afforded for introducing Bills, virtually the whole time for legislation is absorbed by the Government. The power to put supplementary questions, usually essential for the extraction of reluctant information, is sensibly curtailed, while the raising of urgent issues on a motion of adjournment, a once highly valuable privilege of private members, has almost disappeared. The historical explanation of these changes may be complete: the rules and practices which express them may well appear necessary to the order and economy of a legislative assembly continually confronted with more business than it can perform. But, from the standpoint of representative government, it is all profoundly unsatisfactory, and the feeling that it is so constitutes the wholesome democratic ferment which was felt in the Ginnell episode. For by traditional temper the House of Commons is sternly, even passionately, equalitarian. Its members, irrespective of party attachment, have regarded with jealousy and anger the encroachments upon the liberties of individual members named above, and have always acquiesced with extreme reluctance in the several steps by which Ministers have achieved the monopoly of governmental power.

A curious significance is given to the situation when we consider that we are engaged at this very moment in a life and death struggle on behalf of the principle and practice of representative government, and that the major premiss of our argument is that the House of Commons stands for representative government. Now, though we are far from accepting the travesty of Mr. Belloc as a just description of the current position, we cannot but acknowledge that the modern tendency of events has been steadily and persistently to weaken the generally representative character of the House of Commons, so far as its control over policy, finance, and legislation is concerned. What it has gained in composition, by the lowering of the franchise, and the admission of more members of the working and the lower-middle classes, that and far more it has lost in the diminished control by the body of members over the business of the House. Nor can this loss of control be reasonably explained as a further application of the representative principle. If the rank and file of members had voluntarily delegated certain of their powers to Committees elected by themselves, this would have been a fair extension of the representative method. But the imperfectly representative manner in which a Ministry is constituted, the absorption of all power of critical determination by the Cabinet, and the evolution of a powerful party control in support of these non-elective instruments, are recognised as carrying the conduct of the House of Commons further and further away from government by the people through their freely elected representatives.

The mere reply, that this is found to be the only workable system, will not, and, in our judgment, ought not to be accepted as satisfactory. Moreover, at a time when the enemy is probing everywhere for weak points in the armor of the Commons, it is even a dangerous reply. The rising discontent of the private member at his state of idle servitude is justified, and effective redress should be found for it. A very large proportion of these members are men who carry to the House valuable governmental qualifications of various kinds. They have had experience in local administration, they

have intimate knowledge of large departments of the business world, they have acquired special and detailed knowledge of the social and economic conditions of large sections of the people. Many of them are keen reformers, chosen by constituencies because of their championship of these reforms; they bring knowledge, ideas, disinterested enthusiasm and willingness to work, into the House of Commons. They are expressly sent by their constituents to take a personal part in moulding the legislation and administration of the country. When they get into that House, they find themselves half-paralysed. What powers of initiative, of independent judgment, of special experience they possess, are not wanted, and any spasmodic endeavor to assert them is frowned down by party discipline. It is, of course, true that a certain amount of genuinely useful work is found for some of them in Committees in which they can influence, not perceptibly the policy of government, but the details of a Bill. But a good body of the intellectual and moral vigor which they bring as chosen representatives of the people is frittered away or atrophied by a life in which the only acts that "tell" are formal registers of votes, recording, not their own free judgments, nor the free judgments of the men who sent them there, but the decrees of the Whips executing the resolves of the Cabinet. We are perfectly aware that in a sense this may be defended as consistent with the representative idea. The member who obeys the Party Whip does so voluntarily. He is free to refuse, but he prefers to trust the guidance of his leaders, and his constituency is at least content that he should do so. So it may be said that "the people will have it so." Government is as representative as the people want it to be! So we come tolerably near to the paradox which defends the autocracy of the Tsar as ultimately based on "the consent of the governed," the test for a refusal of consent being a successful revolution.

The fact remains that a private member is becoming more and more dissatisfied with the imperfectly representative character of the House. It is not so much power or privileges that he seeks. It is the right to work. He knows, if his constituents do not, that his time, energy, and ability are largely wasted, and that he is not really securing for his constituents the fair share of influence in the actual determination of public policy which they have entrusted to him. They believe in party, they even believe in the utility of the party machine, but they perceive and feel that they have no adequate control of it. Not that the domination of the machine has, either in the House of Commons or outside, approached the degree of mechanical perfection which it has attained in America. The free power of private members to influence, nay, even to reverse, the will of the Ministry can still be exercised upon occasion, while the party machine itself may often serve as the channel through which the feelings and opinions of private members influence Governments.

But this indirect and largely casual influence does not suffice. The private member rightly asks for a larger, more regular share in the actual work of criticism and construction with which government is concerned. If the House of Commons is to be defended and maintained as the instrument of party representative government, means must be contrived for satisfying so reasonable a request.

THE CHILD AND THE INSTITUTION.

PHILANTHROPISTS and social reformers who stand at a comfortable distance from the objects of their solicitude have a hideous phrase: "institutionally treated." "This case must be institutionally treated," they say, as they sit, like the Judgment, at their Board or Committee, and pass sentence upon the bewildered souls that gibber and flutter for a minute before them. Or they say: "This is a case for institutional relief," and off goes the case into the outer darkness of workhouse, asylum, or industrial school. What is a case? To the philanthropist, a cipher, a figure, an item, an example, a number for statistics, an instance for a record, a type, an addition to an average. To itself, the case is a poor being which

has kept body and soul together, by various labor, for many years of general dirt and want, broken by gleams of pleasure, excitement, drunkenness, laughter, and passion. It has lost parents, had children, contrived somehow to clothe and feed itself and them. It is full of unknown history and intimate memories. It is the living result of endeavors, triumphs, and failures, which even the Charity Organisation Society cannot nose out. Or it is a life still young, with the possibilities of half-a-century before it, still unshaped and open to all influences, still capable of admiration and hope, and now standing astonished in the chaos of events, shut off from familiar faces, surrounded on every side by incalculable terrors, and compelled to endure in silence whatever may happen to it next. "This case must be institutionally treated," declares the Committee or Board, and one more personality is added to a herd, one more number to some aggregate in our national statistics.

"An outpost of barbarism!" Matthew Arnold used to exclaim when he saw some great country house in the midst of English scenery. And when we see one of our vast institutions—our workhouses, asylums, and industrial or reformatory schools—whether in town or country, we may say to ourselves: "A fortress of inhumanity!" Some are better, some worse. For some, like the asylums for mad people and imbeciles, or the workhouses for working people rendered helpless by age or sickness, no substitute has yet been imagined. But better, worse, or simply "inevitable," all are bad. They are the evidences of civilisation's failure. They stand as the outward and visible signs of our spiritual inhumanity. For the most part, they represent the "ransom" which the wealthy have paid, only too gladly, in voluntary contributions to silence the crying of the poor, to be comfortably quit of such disagreeable people, and to release their own consciences for fuller enjoyment. They stand inexpugnable, fortified by system, living from year to year on their own fat, indestructible in the money that has been expended upon them. They are moved by regulation instead of enterprise, their standard is order instead of joy, and their object monotony instead of the innumerable variety of man. They are governed and directed by officials, whose daily temptation, as with all officials, is to avoid and resent increase of trouble, to maintain the system, to shelter their colleagues, to show a fair surface for inspection, to be pleased with mediocrity, and satisfied with more-or-less. The officials may be good: they may be devoted, regular as clockwork, and kindly at heart. It makes little difference; they cannot escape the permeating curse of officialdom. For better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, until death end them, their whole surroundings are tarred with one brush, and that brush is the Institution's.

Depressing and degrading for the old, the Institution does its worst for children and youth. In the aged "pauper," vitality is running low. At times he may be fairly satisfied with warmth, cleanliness, and leisure. It looks silly at his age, and after all that he has done in life, to be ordered when to have his meals, and to be punished like a child for staying out half-an-hour late. But if he cadges a few sweets, or a little tobacco, or a glass of beer, on the days when he is allowed a walk, it casts a glamor over the week, and, in any case, he is "past work," and has not many more weeks to run. But for the young it is different, and it is on them that the Institution presses its lasting stamp of mechanism. No one would say that all English homes are ideal, or even decent; and no one would now pretend that parents are necessarily the best people to bring up their children. But we doubt whether the filthiest home and the most atrocious parents can really be worse for a child's nature in the end than the years of growth spent in one of our great Institutions, where the children never go home, and live by night and day, through what appears to them eternity, under official care. All may look smooth and bright enough on the surface. Inspectors are satisfied; visitors are delighted. They admire the dietary precisely weighed, the regulation prayers and dormitories, the cubic space of air, the scientific appliances, the steam washing machine, the centrifugal wringer, the hot-air drying-horse, the gas

ovens, the heating pipes, the spray baths, the jets for ophthalmia, the model bakery, the central engine, the prevalence of whitewash and chloride of lime. But if they would sound the depth of depression, let them imagine themselves children again, and observe that berded life day after day, as the present writer has observed it. They will know then what we mean by calling the Institution a fortress of inhumanity.

We do not suppose that the "Akbar" or Nautical School at Heswall is worse than the average. Very likely it is better. In reading the White Paper issued for the Home Office by Mr. Masterman last week, we find the usual characteristics of Institutions.

"The boys," we are told, "are kept under strict discipline, with occupation from morning till night in what one witness called 'a system of healthy bustle.' Smartness is desired, and smartness is attained. To the great majority of these boys the system is probably beneficial. . . . The boys sleep in dormitories together, play cricket and football together, have their bugle bands, exhibitions, concerts, prize-givings, bathing in the summer, are taught signalling and wireless telegraphy, and are equipped with the most elaborate technical training for their future occupations."

The Committee of Management asserted:—

"You have only got to look at the School. People who have absolutely no interest come back very pleased, and talk about the splendid, happy, well-fed, and healthy appearance of the boys, and when they come over here for Trafalgar Day we all see what a fine-looking lot of fellows they are. That is the proof we do not consider that they are cruelly treated."

Another manager stated that at first he was prejudiced against the boys, but when he saw them march past with their bugle band, and stepping as he had never seen before, from that minute his mind was absolutely changed, and, to his credit, he seems to have become a true and permanent friend. Mr. Masterman quotes a good deal of similar evidence. Much of it is of the kind one always hears from visitors to any Institution. To them everything always looks pretty and bright, smart and well-cared-for. They are like people who judge the inside of a rifle from the polish on the stock. But the White Paper mentions other more valuable evidence, even apart from the officials, who are bound to support officialdom though the heavens fall.

On the other side, we omit the evidence of Mr. and Mrs. Adam, the former head-master and matron of the school, who first brought the charges of cruelty and ill-treatment. Their evidence was on some points uncertain, and on others it had apparently been distorted by a newspaper to which they first gave it. We will take only those pieces of evidence that Mr. Masterman's report accepts without comment, and we imagine without disapproval. As to the general condition, a Mr. Wilson "thought they (the boys) were depressed and unhappy, and that only a boy of a very strong optimistic temperament could at all survive to be the same boy he was when he went in." Even more characteristic of Institutions is the evidence of Mr. Kittermaster, an ex-chaplain to the school:—

"He recognised that 'something was wrong with the school,' and 'he felt it so much that he lost all heart,' that the boys were 'smarting under a sense of being unfairly treated,' and that, although no officer of the School was purposely cruel, and though he could not say that any of the punishments given were undeserved and actually unfair, or tell me of any instances of actual bulleyings, yet 'in spite of all superficial smartness and paper returns,' 'we were turning out heartless and hardened boys, in essentials unreformed.'"

We believe it would be difficult to express the usual result of "institutional training" more accurately than by that combination of superficial smartness and heartless and hardened boys.

But let us take a few of the particular points that Mr. Masterman accepts. In the Regulations sanctioned by the Home Office, among other punishments we find "reduction in quality or quantity of food," and "moderate personal correction or chastisement." The moderation consists in a maximum of eighteen strokes with a birch, or eight with a cane. During two and a-half years, we are told, there were 308 birchings and canings, or more than two a week among about 200 boys. In many cases, the canings had surpassed the regulations. Nearly a quarter of the floggings last year were administered in public. The full punishment of birch-

ing or caning resulted in the cutting of the skin and the necessity for subsequent antiseptic dressing. In some cases in camp, the cries of the boys were stifled by blankets held over their mouths, on the plea that the boys were deliberately crying out to attract the attention of visitors. On one occasion, about sixteen months ago, the whole school were made to stand by their hammocks from ten in the evening to five in the morning. On another occasion a boy had fifteen buckets of cold water thrown over him in winter, apparently in the hope of cleaning his language. On a third occasion a boy died after similar treatment.

Let us omit the latter forms of torture. Like the sousing of a delicate and highly educated woman in Strangeways gaol with a fire-hose, a few months ago, they are admittedly irregular, and the Home Office does not defend them, though it exacts no penalty from the agents. Let us keep to the flogging. "Birchings," says Mr. Masterman, "may be objectionable, but they were certainly legal, and administered in conformity with the regulations laid down by the Home Office." "The excessive severity," he says again, "was produced in the main by a mistaken attempt at humanity," meaning that excessive caning was substituted for the birch; and he recommends that "standardised birches or canes should be made compulsory in all reformatory schools." Here it is again, the old policy of building up a system and then defending the official because he has administered it. Every official always pleads that he must act according to the system and only flogs when necessary. As long as the system remains, it is useless to condemn the official, unless we are prepared to condemn everyone who carries out an evil system rather than resign. What is needed is the abolition of the form of torture itself, with all its attendant horrors of stifling, antiseptic dressings, and the attendance of schoolfellows, as at a public execution. "I believe flogging amounts to torture," said Lord James, speaking on the Juvenile Offenders Bill; "and it has no good effect in the end." "You make a perfect devil of the man you flog," said Hawkins, who was no soft-hearted Judge. And Dr. Morrison, speaking from his long observation of prisons, has written, "These instruments of torture breed in the heart and mind of the community that spirit of callousness to human suffering which produces crime."

Even in our wealthy public schools, it is a cold-blooded and shameful punishment, casting a stain of brutality over much of our public life. But in the institutions to which the poor are driven, its effect is incalculably worse, just as it is more demoralising to flog the young than to flog men. For in the Institution the official reigns, supported by the Regulations of the State. Against his pleasure in flogging there is no human appeal, no possible escape to friends or parents at home. The child of the State has no intervals or consolations. At the best he is involved in "a system of healthy bustle"; at the worst he is herded as a prisoner in the fortress of inhumanity—the "Bastille," as they still call it in the Midlands and the North. Scratch an institution, one may almost say, and you will find the devil.

THE REAL VALUE.

THE world, according to a certain type of thinker, has been cursed with nineteen centuries of Christianity; but the school that speaks in this sense is, on the whole, declining. Generally, men will be willing to find some value in Christianity as in other religious systems. If, says the secular historian, the Arian party had carried their point at Nicaea, it would have involved the premature disappearance of Christianity. The word *premature* implies that Christianity has had its uses, even if it has them no more. Some will go further, and find something of value in the Gospel yet. They are practical people, and there is a certain amount of respect to be paid to their judgments, even if one is driven to hold that they judge rather carelessly.

What, then, shall we say, is the real value of Christianity? The practical school will not say its theology; that, at least, stands on a level with similar

fanciful, unproven constructions in Hinduism and Mohammedanism; but the ethics of Christianity are more recognisably sound. This is a judgment that rests on a view of the work-a-day world—Christians may not love their neighbors in practice quite as well as themselves, and, it is urged, it is not very clearly desirable that they should; but their average decent grasp of the ideas of altruism and self-effacement is a good thing for society, and it would be a pity if it were lost.

It is sometimes suspected that those who use such language are mainly people interested in keeping things as they are—conventional moralists are rarely pioneers of new orders. Is it not possible, then, that they approve of the Gospel because it teaches men submission and contentment, to turn the other cheek, to bear with extortion and oppression, confiscated cloaks, and commandeered miles? Is this the essence of the Gospel? Is it really of value to humanity as an engine of tyranny? Is the Sermon on the Mount a handbook of the duties of subjects?

But all this criticism, it may be replied, rests upon accidents and does not touch the thing itself. We must go back to the fountain head. It is quite clear that Jesus was not the emissary of a Government or of a successful middle-class, inculcating ideas likely to secure the predominance of his employers. Whatever is uncertain, it is certain that he was an original man—earnest, quick, clear-sighted, and fearless, no man's agent; he spoke "as having authority," as "never man spoke," spoke what he saw and knew at first-hand. If oligarchies and despotisms and civil services have hung their schemes of things on to his teaching, and men have accepted the combinations so effected, so much the worse for them, but it was no fault of his. If men would think as he did—"judge of themselves," as he urged—such combinations would have had shorter lives and done less harm. If Democracy has sometimes failed, its advocates say it is because it is no system for slovens, for men content to be less than they might be; that ideals imply work, perpetual work, not passivity. If Jesus's teaching has been misused, might not he say that it was never meant for second-hand use, for tradition; that unless it lived anew in his followers an original inspiration, fiery and vital, they need not call themselves his disciples? He at all events never aimed at being a captain of echoes. It is not real criticism to judge him by echoes, nor by organisations that have successfully used the echoes, however venerable.

Let us see what he meant. We are referred to the Sermon on the Mount as the embodiment of all, or most, of what he has of value. And here we are at once met by a challenge from another quarter. We are told by modern Jewish students of the ancient Jewish fathers that there is very little that is original in the teaching of Jesus, as Christian scholars would see if they would take the trouble to go to the original documents instead of lazily depending on St. Paul or the warped narratives of the Gospels. Even the so-called Golden Rule of the Christians is Jewish, in a negative form—"Whatsoever ye would not, do not." Jewish morality has been steadily written down; it has always been as good as Christian; and the great Jewish moralists have a parallel for everything worth while in Christianity. Similarly, other advocates appear for a greater, an older, and a much more widely-held system—the Confucian; but, perhaps, those who make serious claims for it are not so scholarly as the friends of Judaism.

So long as we keep to maxims, we may, perhaps, very well match one with another, Christian with Jewish, or Confucian, or, let us say at once, Stoic and Buddhist. But the world is not moved by maxims. "Alas! the great world goes its way"; it never did and never would consider the Rabbis or their maxims—"far less consider them again." Let them show how they anticipated Jesus in every moral precept he gave—what does it matter? Who cares? It was Jesus, not Hillel, that conquered the ancient world. EN TOYTON NIKA was never thought or said of any Jewish symbol. If Christianity were no more than a heap of precepts, it might interest the modern world as little as the Talmud. Nor is Paul disposed of so easily; whatever he was, he was a man of genius, quick, eager, and earnest, particularly in this

sphere of religion; and such a man reads his contemporaries at least as well as any student of books and MSS. will read them two thousand years later. Whatever the ethical value of Judaism, Paul saw that the religious value was insufficient, and one is not convinced that his Jewish critics quite understand him there. At all events if we equate (for argument; it is not in fact clear that we should equate) the ethical value of the precepts of the Rabbis and Jesus, it is evident we have to look elsewhere for what we seek—the real and fundamental value and meaning of what Jesus taught. Our Jewish critics have disposed for us of some of our other critics. The sublime ethics, the altruism, the humanity, do not yield the *differentia* which distinguishes his teaching from other men's.

The central thought of Jesus is to be reached, perhaps, as surely as any other way, through the group of parables in the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke. Challenged as to his consorting with sinful people, he gives his critics three parables, perhaps struck off quickly there and then—simple, strong, living things fresh from the very heart—the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, the Lost Son.

Along this line we may seek the centre of the thought of Jesus; and, centrifugal as some hold the human mind to be, this centre has never been lost by the Christian community as a whole. At the same time, it is interesting to remark how that community has developed the parable of the Lost Sheep. Perhaps St. John's account of the Good Shepherd is the first stage in that development. Certainly very soon the Good Shepherd is the familiar figure in Christian art and thought, conceived after the picture in St. Luke as seeking and finding the lost sheep, and sculptured, like Hermes the Ram-bearer, with the sheep upon his shoulders. It may be held that this is not a legitimate development of the parable—rather pedantically; for a poem, a picture, or a parable, any great work of art, means, like the creations of Nature, far more than any one man may dream, even though he be the artist himself. Still, whether legitimate or not, it is worth while to realise sharply that here has been the fixed conviction of Christendom. The love of God, as an effective force in Christian life, has depended on, and worked through, the historical Jesus.

It may be wrong; but that is not an easy thing to say. It may be incredible—that at least we can say, for it takes no proving that many do not believe it. If it becomes progressively incredible, if the difficulties of belief increase with time—if it is agreed by some of us that these central tenets of the Love of God and the Coming of the Good Shepherd are untenable—we shall have to see what elements of value remain in Christianity. If these seem to us to be indistinguishable from the moral teaching of Judaism and Confucianism, are we not face to face with a difficult historical problem, viz., the failure of the sound element and the vitality and effectiveness of the questionable? "Mankind advances," said Goethe, and then he added, "but man remains the same." We must not convince ourselves in too great a hurry that modern civilisation and education and so forth have differentiated us so very much from other generations. Beautiful thoughts that have been on the whole ineffectual in the past are hardly likely to avail much against modern materialism, imperialism, and expertism, however cultured we are.

Experts and culture and civil servants are the great marks of our modern Governments, but not exclusively, for the ancient world knew them, and they spelled tyranny. Against this the most telling defence was the Christian faith that the ignorant subject, whom they governed and oppressed, was a man "for whom Christ died." Synesius said as much in as many words to a governor of his day. The Stoic *homo res sacra homini* is in outward look the same thing—but only statically, not dynamically. When at the close of the Middle Ages the New Testament came into the hands of common men, modern Democracy began. It began terribly with the Anabaptists, though they were by no means as black as the Bishops of Munster thought. Calvin made the men who created Scotland, the men who fought Charles Stuart, and the men who planted New England. These

were the pioneers of effective Democracy, men steeped in the belief that they were personally the special interest of God. And this was the idea of Jesus.

ON WEATHER LORE.

"CHANGEMENT de temps, entretien de sots," says a French proverb. To us it seems the proverb that is foolish. There is an extraordinary dignity, for instance, in the rustic weather-lore of old-fashioned village people, coming down from days without newspapers, without the modern hurry and bustle, with little knowledge of the outside world, when men's interests were, perforce, centred in the natural operations going on around them, and the great framework in which they were set, which last, as each time the earth went round the sun, was enriched by its association with the events and persons of a supernatural year. How restful are the old saws and proverbs of the weather, now everywhere dying out, once continually on the lips of country people, the garnered wisdom of centuries of observant toil! These rustic proverbs have been repeated for centuries, and nobody knows how old they are, or who made them. Talking about the weather seems a broadly human recreation, suited to days of a large leisure, like attending funerals, playing old-fashioned whist, or drinking hot elderberry wine.

The story of St. Swithin is a bit of saintly weather-lore still universally known in England. It belongs to a time when everybody knew the dates of the saints' days. The old rhyming weather proverbs still extant speak of Candlemass, of St. Paul, of St. James, of St. Barthlemy. Everyone talked familiarly of these days. In Russia, no doubt, the Moujik still reminds his wife of the severe trouble her slanderous tongue got her into last Three Holy Children, and she retorts by mentioning his fall from a ladder while under the influence of vodka two years come Elias the Prophet. It is well known that in Russia the number of holidays is positively scandalous. The Eastern Church, moreover, commemorates the saints of the Old Law as well as of the New. *Quam magna est domus!* In England the memory of saints' days, else forgotten, is still occasionally kept alive by weather rhymes.

The first bit of weather lore we ever remember to have heard is:—

"As the days lengthen
The cold strengthens."

or, in a version rhyming more correctly:—

"As the days begin to lengthen
Then the cold begins to strengthen."

All January weather rhymes insist on the cold of the lengthening days after Christmas. Keats's picture of that St. Agnes' Eve, when it was so "bitter chill" that "the owl for all his feathers was a-cold," may have been influenced by these old sayings. The Old Style St. Agnes' Eve would be the last day of January. The weather rhymes are all in favor of the early months of the year being cold. If they are not, we shall suffer for it afterwards. There is one that says

"If the grass grows green in Janiveer,
It grows the worse for it all the year."

and another muses:—

"March in Janiveer,
Janiveer in March, I fear";

"I remember when the old people always called it Janiveer," an old body told the writer the other day. "A warm January a cold May" is to the same effect, and, once more:—

"Who doffs his coat on a winter day,
Will gladly put it on in May."

The first three months of the year are the time when cold weather is expected, and may be cheerfully endured. French proverbs tell the same tale: "Si février est chaud, Pâques aura froidure," and again, "Quand mars fait avril, avril fait mars." With good luck, the worst of winter may be done with by St. Vincent, but, on the other hand, it may then set in with renewed severity. The old time St. Vincent's Day would be at the beginning of February. "A la St. Vincent l'hiver se reprend

ou se rompt les dents." The people who made such sayings as this last knew well the deadly grip and bite of winter. It was indeed a wolf at poor men's doors.

According to a rhyme we heard an old lady quote a week or two ago, a prophetic character seems to have been attributed to St. Paul's Day. It runs:—

"If St. Paul's day be fair and clear,
That betides a happy year.
If blustering winds do blow aloft,
Then wars will trouble us full oft.
And if it chance to snow or rain,
Then will be dear all sorts of grain."

The writer looks out from his window on a great and splendid church. Few things must have so much impressed our forefathers as the sight of such a church, filled from end to end in the frosty February morning with the twinkling lights of Candlemass Day. This feast is one of the great dividing lines in weather lore.

"If Candlemass Day be fine and clear,
We shall have winter half the year.
If Candlemass Day be wet and foul,
The half of winter's gone at Yule."

Another adage says:—

"If the wind's in the East on Candlemass Day,
There it will stick till the second of May."

"February Fill-Dyke," by the way, always strikes us as a descriptive phrase, beautiful in its acquiescent tranquillity.

"March Many-Weathers," again, comes from days when everything was personified. March is one of the easiest months to think of as a person: one sees her shaken locks, her brown young brow, her sea-blue eyes. She dances; she is in a red cloak; the laughter of new life is in her whirling gusts. March is the month of wind and sunshine; if she fails to give us these the coming months must pay:—

"As many mists in March you see,
So many frosts in May will be."

The March proverbs are full of the joy of living, and the goodness of her keen, shrill winds. "A peck of March dust is worth a king's ransom."

"March winds, April showers,
Bring forth May flowers."

They delight in her quick changes, her coming in like a lion and going out like a lamb, her irresponsible gaiety. "Marzo matto" Tuscans say.

"Lent" means spring, and a Lent proverb may be put down here. It sounds as old as Chaucer:—

"If the sun shine on Shrove Tuesday,
It shines each day in Lent, men say."

The budding of the trees was thought to be an index of the coming year. The following is a very prosaic version of the saying about the oak and the ash known to everybody:—

"If the Oak's before the Ash,
The farmer's pockets are full of cash.
If the Ash is before the Oak,
The farmer's hopes will end in smoke."

The good time begins in April, when winter's ruins and rains are over, and all the season of snows and sins. Now it is right to expect sunshine. There is a time for everything under the sun, but frost and cold are unseasonable now, and mean harm. "Fogs in April, floods in June." Again, they say in France:—

"Gelée d'avril ou de mai
Misère nous prédit, au vrai."

But when things go well there is no praise too great for the sun and dew of April and of May. "Rosée de mai vaut chariot de roi." The folk-lore of all Christian lands, by the way, is full of the sacredness of the rain falling on Ascension Day.

The French equivalents of our St. Swithin are St. Médard and St. Protais. Both of these occur in June, St. Médard on the eighth, St. Protais on the nineteenth:

"S'il pleut le jour de St. Médard,
Il pleut quarante jours plus tard,
S'il pleut le jour de St. Protais,
Il pleut quarante jours après."

All over Europe there are sayings which note, with a certain healthy pleasure, the storms of a fine summer,

and the times when they may be looked for. "San Giovanni e San Pietro, gran mercanti di grandine" is from the Italian Lakes. Still, in spite of hail or thunder, "juin bien fleuri, vrai Paradis."

In our own West Country they say that the rain on St. Swithin's Day "christens the apples." The forty days of rain are from St. Swithin to St. Bartholomew, July 15th to August 24th. The rhyme tells us:

"As many tears as St. Swithin can cry,
St. Barthlemy's mantle shall wipe them dry."

Long days of hot sunshine with brief thunderstorms are looked for from a well-conducted July. "Juillet ensoleillé et en grand tonnerre remplit cave et grenier."

Another saying is:—

"If the first of July be rainy weather,
It will rain more or less for four weeks together."

The fate of the year is not decided till late in July:

"Till St. James's Day be past and gone,
There may be hope or there may be none."

St. Bartholomew, again, is a decisive date:

"If St. Barthlemy's Day be fair and clear,
Hope for a prosperous autumn that year."

A French August proverb says:

"Quand il pleut en Août,
Il pleut miel et bon mout."

After harvest, the weather proverbs become few and far between. The peasant's interest in the year is practical, not æsthetic, and when once all is safely gathered in he has no longer the same motive for watching the weather and its changes. There is always the same dislike to unseasonable things. So we hear:

"Winter thunder,
Poor man's hunger."

or, again:—

"If there's ice in November to carry a duck,
There'll be nothing after but sludge and muck."

or, once more:—

"A green Christmas, a white Easter."

For the peasant holds that there is a season and a time to every purpose under the heaven, and that of its kind and in its season everything is good.

Short Studies.

SHEPHERDLESS SHEEP.

ON Sunday evening, the lights of Oxford Street sent a red glare upwards, while from Marble Arch irregular yellow eyes, slung in darkness, led through the shadowed Park. Rain dripped from leafless trees, and the backs of tilted chairs; lamplight flickered upon the curved fronts of other chairs, erect and glimmering, like rows of fleshless ghosts. Lights from Oxford Street flared reddish to the sky; by Marble Arch, they took a tinge of green and wavered on the faces of a great crowd, which, though always moving, never seemed to move away. Restless, yet apathetic, stirred with difficulty to applause or protest, thus, week by week and year by year, the shepherdless sheep of London gather round Marble Arch, where Church-Army man pits his voice against Free-thinker and Humanitarian Deist, while Socialist and Anti-vivisectionist rage from adjacent groups.

Beyond, in the Park, shadows lay black; wind stirred through leafless boughs, and furtive figures glided to and fro; sound of traffic from Edgware Road swept across with a faint, unmeaning hum. Soon eager faces, staring eyes, were raised above the blackness of the crowd, as one by one the shepherds came, chose their vantage-ground, and sought to gather in their flocks. Back to the railings they stood—flare of the gas shone on open mouths and glistening eyes, on thin hands gesticulating above a sea of black. Among the first to draw a crowd was a lecturer on "War—do you want it?" He leashed his red banner more firmly to its

stand, mounted a wooden platform, thrust hands in pockets, and cleared his throat.

"Just five minutes' chat," said he—mildly agreeable—"before my friend Mr. Barnes arrives. Now then, I want to hear what you think about the German scare. . . . Eh, what's that? Oh, bad cough? Take care of it these damp nights, sir! Now, now—this German scare. . . ."

Two or three men detached themselves from the crowd, and strolled towards a Humanitarian Deist, whose voice boomed across the darkness; at that, the lecturer on "War against War" darted his head forward with a curious snake-like movement, and struck the audience for a moment to something less of apathy. He flung his arms wide; light gleamed on his jagged teeth and wide-open eyes.

"War!" he yelled, "the curse of God upon us! an unending curse! Bred in our bone, deep in our blood—a primal instinct, you say? Primal insanity! For shame, brute beasts that you are! to hanker after war still, in this twentieth century. . . . War! with its nameless horrors, its fields running red with blood of fathers, husbands, lovers. . . . War—that turns the land into a butcher's shambles, with Christian souls for victims. . . . Ah, you beasts!" he spat at the crowd, who stared back listlessly, since enthusiasm is by rights confined to the shepherds at Marble Arch; the sheep will have none of it.

Pasty-faced and vehement, beneath his crimson banner, the Humanitarian Deist strove to cry down his neighbor; there flanked him a Freethinker, with goat-like beard, and hair dangling over a grimy collar. His bowler hat was pushed far back; with lean yellow hands he flung the doctrines of Christianity away into the blackness of the Park.

"Me friends!" he cried, and showed his teeth, "I tike up me Sunday piper, and I see a case of a young man—earning good wages, mind you, not bitter 'ungry as some of us are—who 'as stolen ten pounds from his master. 'Oo is that young man? A Freethinker, an', therefore, a lorst soul, as some Christians would say? No, me friends, that young man is a member of the Y.M.C.A. 'Ow's that? Y.M.C.A.! What's Christianity done for that young man? Made 'im a thief! A thief!" he repeated, with extraordinary ferocity. His eyes glittered to right and left; he clenched and unclenched his hands, squeezing them as though Christianity, in some corporeal form, were within.

"He who died for us!" came in thin, appealing tones from the darkness.

"Christianity," shouted the Freethinker, "made that young man a thief!"

Like a faint breath of wind, remonstrance passed through the crowd; one or two listeners moved uneasily. Like a breath of wind the remonstrance came, like a breath it passed; the Freethinker cleared his throat, and proceeded to deal straitly with the Established Church—no one applauded, no one demurred. At last, almost voiceless, and deathly white, he staggered from the platform; there sprang to take his place a pasty-faced boy, whose subject was the wickedness of the clergy.

Under a plane tree, ten yards away, gathered a knot of whispering men, shepherded by the Christian Evidence Society. "Evidence!" murmured the leader, drawing his soft hat further over his eyes, "that's what you want—that's what I want. Now, here. . ."

He rustled among green pamphlets, and lowered his voice still more; round him, heads gathered closely, while, from a high stand near by, an eager voice rang out—clear, challenging.

"People run down the Catholic faith because they don't understand it! Everything that goes wrong, in England or abroad, is put down to us Catholics. It's desperately unfair. Portugal, now—I've just come from Portugal—let me tell you the truth about that business. . . ."

His tall hat was pushed back, his black eyes were afire; leaning forward, breathing hard, he flung out both arms above the crowd, clenching and unclenching his fingers, as though, by sheer effort, he could chain those listless minds.

"We've been despised!" he shouted, "but we're coming to our own! . . ."

No one gainsaid him, no one assented.

Near by, under a green and red banner, enlivened by the portrait of a singularly attenuated cat, horrors lay thick.

"Your little dog!" cried the Anti-vivisectionist, "the one that strayed away. . . . what became of it? Better not ask—better not wonder! If you had seen what I've seen—animals strapped down, with eyes pleading and gentle through all their agony. . . . The screams—ah, God! the screams—the quivering, tortured bodies! . . ."

A girl elbowed her way out of the crowd; a man began to whistle. The speaker's quick eyes were on them both; he passed his tongue over his lips, and wiped his gleaming forehead.

"Ah! you don't like even to hear of such things, but they go on in this city every day. . . . every day. . . ." He proceeded to arraign members of the medical profession, even as his neighbor, the Freethinker, arraigned the "cloth," while, close by, a gentleman of exquisite neatness spoke indolently upon Unity. His linen was spotless, his tie well chosen, neatly matched in color by an amethyst pin; one noted, also, leaning against the railings, his umbrella, tightly furled, in appearance almost a walking-stick.

"Let us live at peace," drawled the neat gentleman, "union is strength. . . ." He put up a tentative hand—was that amethyst pin in place? . . .

Six yards away, scarlet tie and tweed suit marked the Socialist; orange tie and baggy Norfolk, a National Democrat. Bare-headed, with faces that shone beneath the flaming lights, they leaned forward, gesticulating.

"Slaves! Slaves from birth to death—that's what you are, each one of you! . . ." The Socialist's scarlet tie was crooked; shirt and collar owned to an estrangement.

Thus, one section of the Marble Arch orators—revolutionists, insurgents against the powers that be in Church and State, they aired their views unchecked, while lights from Oxford Street flared reddish to the sky, and wind moaned across the blackness of Hyde Park. There remained another section—orthodox—Missionaries and Church-Army men, wrestling ceaselessly among these heretics for the souls of London heathen. Valiantly they struggled, and never acknowledged a defeat! pale-faced men, black-uniformed, with eager, wistful eyes. At intervals, during their ministrations, a sheet was fixed between two poles, and on it a hymn flamed out, black letters vivid on white background. Women's voices rose quaveringly:—

"Were the whole realm of Nature mine,
That were an offering far too small,
Love so amazing, so divine,
Demands my soul, my life, my all!"

A shade less apathetic, perhaps, the crowd gathering round these black-uniformed apostles—some subtle influence pervaded it, over which the Cockney preacher had no control, nor demure women who sang from sad-colored books; perhaps there was a tonic in the lines of those old hymns.

A broad-shouldered man stood on the outskirts of this Church-Army throng; his light overcoat, falling open, showed dress clothes. He stared past the hymn sheet, past the leader's twitching face—away to the depths of the Park, until the singing ended, and the leader sprang to the platform, flinging out ardent hands above the waiting crowd.

"Ah, my dear brethren, we sing these words so often—do we realise their meaning?"—his eager words tripped over one another—"do we realise that Jesus Christ is waiting, yearning. . . . waiting for you—and you—and you!"

The man in evening dress moved away; the eyes of the preacher followed him, curiously intuitive. He raised his voice.

"One more verse, brothers and sisters! One more!" The roller was jerked; another hymn flared out upon the white sheet. Again they sang; the man

in evening dress moved back, and, listening, stared across the shadowed Park.

"Stand up—stand up for Jesus!
Ye soldiers of the Cross."

trembled the thin voices, while, close by, boomed a man high on a red baize platform. "Christianity—it's played out, obsolete! Show me a Christian to-day, and you show me a man who either can't, or won't, or dare not think . . ."

"Whene'er you meet with evil,
Within you or without,
Charge for the God of Battles,
And put the foe to rout. . . ."

The tremulous voices died away; the leader sprang to the platform, and his eyes sought the man behind the crowd.

"If there is any soul here to-night," he said beseechingly, "weary of sin, an' sick of unbelief, let 'im come—let 'im come to Jesus! Jesus won't turn 'im away, however black those sins may be; Jesus won't point the finger of scorn . . ."

He stared beyond the ring of faces, yearning in his eyes—a fisher of men, indeed, but with over-coarse a line, for the man in evening dress turned up his coat collar, threaded his way through the crowd, and disappeared over the grass; from beneath a leafless plane tree a woman's figure rose to join him. They were lost in the shades of the Park. . . .

On the path, not far from the Church Army preacher, one man turned and spoke to another.

"Queer study, Marble Arch," said he, "and this"—waving towards the hymn sheet, "is the queerest part of it all. You know, these religious fellows will last out all the rest—another hundred years, and they'll still be singing the same old hymns, whatever else has gone to the wall. And people will still be listening to them—that's more. Queer, ain't it? Goo'night." He sauntered away, waiting for no answer.

One other orator, a slight, black-bearded man, almost Spanish in swarthinness, had chosen his stand apart from Freethinker and Missioner both; he leaned against railings that shone silvery with raindrops—a couple of shop-boys, who perched alongside and eyed him quizzically, his sole audience.

"Ah, my friends," said he, in a curiously sing-song voice, "it's not the love o' money, and not the love o' love, that brings a man peace at the last. I've been rich, an' thought wealth was all I needed—for a year. That went. An' then, I reckoned to reach Heaven wi' love of a woman. That went. . . . That went, too. . . . An' hell came after. My dear souls, 'tis black darkness for us, now an' always, without the love o' Christ. There's nothing else will lead us home-along." He raised his face to the flare of the gas, and it was lit by strange emotion.

"Ah, don't we all want to be home-along? One an' all of us wants that. On nights like these,"—he said, and stared beyond the red lights of Oxford Street—"I can feel the breeze blowin' up Helford river, an' the hedges all wet, an' smelling sweet. . . . We all want to be home-along, whether 'tis north or south. An' if we feel so about an earthly home, my friends. . . ." His voice had grown loud, ringing, and yet was sing-song still. A spectre detached itself from the neighboring crowd, and crept towards the silvered railings, hovering there, drawn as surely by the West-country intonation as by chains of steel. Exile faced the exile; this spectre, lean and evil, stared wistfully through darkness at the man from "down-along." Irresolute, it hovered for awhile, then shuffled away between the trees, while the Cornishman preached on to that scanty, giggling audience as unconcerned as he might have preached in his own white-washed chapel on a barren moor some three hundred miles away.

Thus and thus—the shepherds. What of these sheep that gather each Sunday night, year in, year out, on the open space near Marble Arch? Force of habit, curiosity, an hour or so to while away—thus or thus they come. A Frenchman, sauntering near Marble Arch, summed up this—our national debating

society, safety valve, call it what you will—with a shrug of his shoulders.

"Ah," said he, "they are like jelly, these Londoners of yours—they cannot even laugh well! Invertebrate! No one can rouse them—Catholic, Freethinker, Socialist, it is all one. If the good God Himself came to Marble Arch. . . .!" He raised eloquent shoulders once more.

But is it, after all, so easy to classify the crowd at Marble Arch? Are these restless spirits, coming phantomlike out of the dusk, to be lost in shadow again, made after one pattern only? Are not some moved, perhaps, by touch of the Wanderlust, yearning for a dim ideal? Dreary stragglers on the outskirts of Truth—seeking what they know not, not knowing even that they seek—backwards and forwards they wander, and on their white faces the gas-light flares, intensifying each weak or evil line.

Shepherdless sheep, they wander, listlessly seeking some new thing, listlessly rejecting it when found; yet, perhaps, if some day a high priest worthy of the name should come to Marble Arch, he might touch them to undreamed-of heights.

Meanwhile, the lights from Oxford Street flared reddish to the sky, while Hyde Park lay black beneath the gathering night. Booming of the voices died down; one by one the shepherds moved away, and the sheep as well were scattered.

ESSEX SMITH.

Present-Day Problems.

LORD HARDINGE AND INDIAN REFORMERS.

THE reforms which India owes to Lord Morley and Lord Minto are now beginning to bear good fruit. Untoward external circumstances, to a certain extent, obscured at first the magnitude of the beneficent change effected in the political situation. But there is now reason to hope that the clouds of misunderstanding and suspicion are clearing away, and that a new era has commenced, based on mutual trust; an era of peace and progress, of co-operation between the rulers and the people. The change has been gradual. But if we desire to mark some date as a red-letter day, on which these friendly relations have been ratified and declared to the world, that date will be January 5th, 1911, when Lord Hardinge gave a kindly welcome at Government House to the deputation of the Indian National Congress; received at their hands an address expressive of hearty loyalty; and, in reply, spoke words full of sympathy and goodwill. After twenty-five years of patient labor, the Congress has now been recognised by the highest authority as representing the cause of constitutional reform. This recognition is an event of happy augury. At the same time, it imposes on the leaders a new responsibility; and the time has come for Indian reformers to realise the altered conditions, and to mark out for the Congress a definite programme of useful work, worthy of their new opportunities, and of the trust reposed in them.

"Trust in the people" has, indeed, been the keynote of the recent reforms, for Indians have now been admitted into the *sanctum sanctorum*, the innermost cabinets, of the Secretary of State, of the Viceroy, and of the Local Governments. When I look back to the lean years which preceded the new departure, it seems hard to believe that such concessions have been possible. If I remember right, Lord George Hamilton, in reply to my question in Parliament, declared to the House of Commons that there was no Indian to be found qualified for a seat in the Council of the Secretary of State; and when, in the Minority Report of the Welby Commission, we put on record our recommendation that an Indian member should be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, we had not the faintest expectation that, in the near future, such recommendation would be adopted, much less that the concession would be extended to the Executive Councils of the Local Governments. As re-

gards the expansion of the Legislative Councils, the Government of that time did not deign even to notice the proposals contained in the Minority Report. Those evil times have become portions and parcels of the dreadful past. No longer need hopeless protests be addressed to deaf ears. A ready hearing will now be given to the voice of the people. Let us see to it that this voice shall be reasonable, well-informed, and directed to promote the practical well-being of India. Emphasising this point in my address to the Allahabad Congress, I said: "As long as Indian reformers could only offer a criticism of official measures from outside, it was necessary that their main energies should be directed towards securing a modification of the system of administration under which they lived. But now that opportunities have been provided for popular representatives to discuss, in a serious and responsible spirit, and face to face with official members, the grievances of the people which they would like to see removed, or the reforms which they wish to be carried out, the dominant note of their relations with the official classes, as also among themselves, should, I think, be one of conciliation and co-operation." In other words, destructive criticism has, for the present, done its part; it is now the duty and privilege of the independent members of the Council to bring into the common stock their store of experience and local knowledge, and to co-operate with British statesmen in the noble work of reconstructing the ancient edifice of India's greatness and prosperity.

In seeking to frame a definite programme for Indian reformers working in connection with the Indian National Congress, two questions seem to suggest themselves: First, what are the measures of reform which are most desired, and for which the country is most ripe? and second, what practical steps should be taken to secure combined and effective action in promoting these measures? With regard to the first question, we cannot do better than refer to the Congress Address presented to the Viceroy, and to the encouraging reply received from Lord Hardinge. In the Address, the first place was given to education. Referring to "certain broad questions affecting the welfare of the masses of the people," the Address proceeds as follows: "Foremost among these comes the need of education. We rejoice to know how favorably the Government is disposed in this matter, and we would urge a liberal increase in the expenditure on all branches of education—elementary, technical, and higher education—but specially on the first of these branches, as being the first step towards promoting the well-being of the masses." In reply, Lord Hardinge assured the deputation that the Government of India had these questions "entirely at heart." He observed that "the educational problem was one that the Government of India have taken in hand," and pointed out that "the creation of a separate department to deal with education may be regarded as an earnest of their intentions." At the same time, his Excellency reminded the deputation that money must be forthcoming if reform measures are to be carried out.

No doubt a large annual sum will be needed even in the initial stage of free elementary education, and reformers must be prepared to face the question of finance. Where is the money to come from? The most hopeful source for increased supplies is from reduction in military expenditure. Reduction seems justified by the entire absence of any external menace; and it will rest with the people of India to show, by a complete return to normal conditions, that no special expenditure is required for the preservation of law and order at home. If the Government of India can certify that a definite military expenditure is sufficient for the external and internal security of India, it appears that, in simple equity, any expenditure in excess of that amount for troops located by the War Office in India should be borne by the Imperial Treasury, as being a charge incurred for Imperial interests.

Following education as the first requisite, come other large questions affecting the daily life of the masses; and, among these, none is more urgent than that of village and district self-government. Looking to the small number of European officials, it is evident that the

detailed work of the villages must be done by Indian agency; and the question is whether this work shall be done, according to ancient custom, by the village householders themselves, under the control of the district officers, or whether it shall be relegated to a multitude of stipendiary subordinates recruited by the great centralised departments? Unfortunately, we have gradually drifted into the less wise policy, and no one can doubt that the unpopularity of our rule is mainly caused by the oppression exercised by the lowest class of departmental subordinates—forest, police, irrigation, survey, and so forth—who, for the most part, are ignorant, ill-paid, and imperfectly controlled from headquarters. The remedy consists in depriving these departmental subordinates of all executive functions, and placing them, so far as their services are required, as expert advisers under the district officers. Executive measures should be carried out by the hereditary village officers and servants, acting under the reconstituted village Council. As regards district administration, the object is to give to each district the opportunity for self-development, as in a well-ordered Native State, in accordance with natural conditions and aptitudes, freed from the sterilising domination of centralised uniformity. A good object-lesson, drawn from past experience, may be found in the Joint Administration carried on, during a minority, in the Bhaunagar State by Mr. Percival, of the Bombay Civil Service, and Mr. Gowrishankar, the experienced Minister of the late Maharaja. The Joint Administration exercised the full powers of the Durbar, the senior administrator having a casting vote in case of a difference of opinion; and it tells well for the success of the experiment that, during the seven or eight years of the Joint Administration, the casting vote was never utilised. In administering the State, the Englishman and the Indian each contributed his special qualifications, and the result showed itself in beneficial public works, in a contented people, and a full treasury. A similar autonomy should be given to our own districts, which could then be left to work out their own salvation, subject to the general principles of British rule, the Joint Administrators being aided by an Advisory Council elected by the people as represented in the village and Taluka organisations. So long as the Joint Administrators were in agreement, and could carry their Council with them, there would be little ground for Government interference, and a continuity of local policy suited to the special needs of each district would develop itself, to the great comfort and benefit of the people.

Another subject of vital importance for India is economic development, both agricultural and industrial. This subject was dealt with by Mr. R. H. Mookerjee, the distinguished head of Messrs. Martin & Co., of Calcutta, in his instructive address as President of the recent Industrial Conference at Allahabad. He points out that to develop new industries we must have expert knowledge, as well as managers of practical experience, and he pleads for the establishment of a well-equipped Central Technical College, fitted with proper workshops and up-to-date laboratories, on the same lines as those established at Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and other places. His business experience also has enabled him to give useful advice as to the establishment of joint stock companies, and the necessity for a strong board of directors, a manager of practical experience, and managing agents to undertake the marketing of the goods and other commercial parts of the business.

Now, a few words in regard to the second question propounded above, as to the practical steps required to secure combined and effective action in promoting measures of reform. Assuming that Congress leaders undertake to deal with such large subjects as education, local self-government, and economic development, it is evident that the responsibilities of the Congress will be much extended, both as regards its annual sessions, and as regards its local work in the provinces and districts. Locally, it will have the arduous task of instructing the people in the duties of citizenship, while ascertaining their wants and wishes, and collecting trustworthy data upon which legislators and publicists can rely. Much good work has already been done in these directions

by Provincial Conferences; but, in order to be effectual, this work must be systematically extended to the districts and villages, and must be made continuous throughout the year by well-organised agency. Again, as regards the work at its annual sessions, the Congress will now assume a new importance, as being the means by which the independent members of the Legislative Councils can maintain close touch with the general body of Indian reformers. It appears that these independent members will have a two-fold duty. They will have to deal with questions affecting all India, and also with those of purely local interest. It is with regard to the former class that combined action is specially required; and it will be for the independent members to consider how they can best maintain a useful contact, among themselves, with the Congress, and with the British Committee in England. As the distances which separate the Provinces are great, it might be convenient for the members to organise themselves into a Committee, with a small executive and a secretary, authorised to carry on the necessary correspondence and transact current business; and it would tend to combined action if the executive, in communication with the Congress leaders, were each year to prepare, for submission to the Congress, a well-considered programme of reforms marshalled in the order of their relative urgency.

Valuable support for the Congress policy of conciliation and co-operation may be afforded in England by the British Committee working with friends in Parliament and the Press. And, in this direction, good work can be done by the journal "India." Problems connected with education and industrial development, as experienced in other countries, can be dealt with in its columns by experts, in a way that may be very serviceable in framing the Indian measures on these subjects; while close touch will be maintained with the proceedings in the various Legislative Councils, in order to give the reformers all possible support with the public at home. Friends of India in England have hitherto had, generally, the thankless task of protest and denunciation. They now look forward to the more grateful duty of supporting Lord Hardinge in his policy of fully developing the reforms of Lord Morley and Lord Minto, and of initiating a happy era of peace and progress.

W. WEDDERBURN.

Letters to the Editor.

THE HESWALL NAUTICAL SCHOOL.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—The report issued by Mr. Masterman on this school is very curious reading. I see it is hailed with delight by the "Daily Express" this morning. "The question, 'What shall we do with our bad boys?'" says that organ, "is always being asked and answered and asked again; but an official document issued yesterday gives what may be taken as a final answer to the problem. There are three main points about Mr. Masterman's report," the "Express" goes on, "it demolishes entirely the charges unwarrantably made against the institution and its management; it shows with what splendid results the traditional public school system can be applied, even to notoriously bad boys; and it gives a delightfully human picture of the bad boy at school." By all means, then, let us send the bad boy to the Heswall Nautical School.

But the "Express" article appears to prove too much. It would seem that by some mischance the wrong sort of boys have got into this educational paradise, and are enjoying its advantages under false pretences. "Mr. Stone, a neighbor of the school, declared that a happier lot of lads you would not find in the length and breadth of the kingdom; they are a smiling lot of boys; a nice lot of lads." Mr. Masterman himself says, "Anything more unlike a cowed and frightened mob it is impossible to conceive." There appears to be a considerable amount of illness always going on among the smiling, happy crowd of nice lads in this "model reformatory," as the "Express" enthusiastically calls it. For

instance, "in December, 1909," Mr. Masterman says, "there was an outbreak of boils and chilblains. . . . Bleakness of situation, newness of building, and failure of heating apparatus were the probable causes." To this should be added the fact that "nearly all the boys complained of insufficient food." Under these exhilarating conditions it was suspected that the smiling, happy lads gave vent to their exuberant high spirits by "multiplying these boils by the deliberate use of a needle, even communicating them to one another in order to get into hospital. . . . The doctor and the superintendent were convinced that this was the case."

A very curious explanation is given of the tendency of these happy lads to howl when undergoing corporal punishment. Their mouths were "muffled with blankets to cope with a piece of schoolboy mischief which caused discomfort to seaside visitors near the school. Boys undergoing punishment used sometimes to howl their loudest in consideration of bribes of biscuits or some other thing by boys who wished to put the school authorities in a difficulty." The full punishment in question was eighteen strokes of a "birch" rod of "hawthorn or supple willow," for which, from "motives of mistaken humanity," the superintendent frequently substituted a heavy cane—this last, be it remembered, on the bare body. Very mistaken indeed, one must admit. In one of Captain Marryat's novels there are some very sensible remarks on the relative merits of the cane and the birch. The boys at Heswall who were caned in this way are "permanently marked" with these *literæ humaniores*. Be this as it may, it is rather humorous to suggest that boys undergoing these operations would need the bribe of "biscuits" to induce them to howl. One fancies that at the time of execution they must have lost all interest in their favorite brands of Huntley and Palmer. I think Dickens would have made something of this notion.

Strange to say, the nice lads frequently absconded from this school, so imbued with the traditional English school-boy spirit were they. A letter is quoted from a boy who had twice absconded from "this model reformatory" as an instance of "the public school spirit which is fostered" there:—

"The captain told us there was not another school in England which could touch us in drill. All the boys are proud of this, and hope that the school will keep its good position and do better every day."

Nice genuine ring this letter has about it, from a boy who had run away from the school twice! It suggests the question whether letters written by boys at this school are read by the authorities before being posted. Perhaps "biscuits" or other inducements were held out, or at least hoped for.

I think the whole report will leave many persons (and they by no means sentimentalists or faddists) in doubt as to whether the problem "What to do with our bad boys?" has been solved so triumphantly as the "Daily Express" imagines. I am very much mistaken if the British public does not want to hear more about this particular school. The whole question of reformatory schools may well engage the attention of Mr. Churchill. One other reflection that occurs to one is this—all such "revelations" should strengthen the determination of the English people not to be driven into barracks.—Yours, &c.,

R. L. GALES.

Gedney Vicarage, Holbeach,
February 21st, 1911.

THE STATE AND THE RIGHT TO WORK.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—The article on the above subject in your issue of February 18th will lead to much speculation in varied channels according to the extent and kind of industrial experience of each particular reader. It is well that those without such experience should realise some of the fundamental obstacles to the ideal of both employee and employer, viz., regular occupation for operative and machinery.

On the one hand, we have the variation in supply of many classes of raw material—first, the annual seasonal periods of supply of produce both vegetable and animal—no ethical ideal will persuade the sheep to alter the season at which it grows its wool; hence a trade like wool-combing becomes one with regular busy and slack periods each year,

according to the arrival of the raw material, and this evil is even more pronounced in some foreign countries than in England.

Secondly, there are very large variations from year to year in the supply of all kinds of produce due to climatic and other conditions, which cannot be foreseen or controlled by the user.

On the other hand, we have the still more baffling and capricious uncertainty in demand. Who can say what class of goods will be called for by Dame Fashion far ahead, and the amount required, depending largely upon the surplus funds of the spending community all over the world?

And similarly the demand for every class of article is governed by its own special conditions more or less impossible to forecast; and no one would suggest that the world's supply of raw materials and the world's demand for manufactured articles can be governed by legislation of even the greatest of business communities. A host of other conditions are also present, such as the money market, national and international politics, and so forth, but, perhaps, enough has been said to make the Social Reformer pause before he condemns either employer or employee for misfortunes which are beyond the control of either; and it must be borne in mind that in this question especially are the interests of master and man identical, and anyone helping to solve the problem of regular remuneration for both will not only deserve but receive their gratitude; no one at present is doing more to merit it than Mr. John Burns, who not only knows the existing conditions, but has the courage and honesty to call a spade a spade.—Yours, &c.,

DUDLEY H. ILLINGWORTH.

Hanlith Hall, Bell Busk, Yorkshire,
February 19th, 1911.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR.—The fact that you discuss unemployment as if it only occurred in times of slack trade, and the remedies you suggest for it, well illustrate the straits which individualists find themselves in when they shrink from applying their own principles. For they should prevent over-population—of which unemployment is the most obvious symptom in an industrial community—by enforcing the individualistic Law of Personal Responsibility: the responsibility of the individual for his own maintenance and that of any children he may beget. Of course, if the worker had, like his employer, to insure himself against the scarcity of the lean years, he would certainly have to spend and save prudently, and would probably have to limit his progeny. But even under a socialistic régime the natural birth-rate would have to be restricted for the avoidance of an excess of workers over "jobs." A Right to Work means not only a right to wages, but to family-wages; means, therefore, a right—of the poorer at the expense of the richer—to multiply freely; means, in fact, a right which begins by not being individualistic, and ends by not being possible.—Yours, &c.,

B. DUNLOP, M.B.

Brasted, Kent, February 19th, 1911.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—As a constant reader of your excellent paper, I should like to ask for some information on this important question.

In your article on this subject on February 18th, you say that "Labor assumes that any sound social and industrial system would be so organised as to make it possible for every adult and normal member of the community to earn by useful labor a living wage." Surely a thoroughly sound, practical, and just proposition. Having stated that "we have been too much inclined to look on the treatment of the unemployed as a mere matter of charity," you proceed to point out that charity is not applicable to those who suffer from seasonal and cyclical trade depression. What they really want, I presume, is higher wages, enabling them to tide over periods of depression, or else more opportunities to produce wealth.

Why, then, do not they produce more wealth? Economists tell us that in the production of wealth only three factors are necessary—Labor, Capital, and Land. Labor we seem to have in excess; you refer in your article to the "ready availability of capital," so apparently it is the third factor alone which is lacking. Have we not sufficient land

for the production of more wealth? If that is so, what is the good of all this agitation, all these palliatives? Should not the Government rather organise emigration on a large scale, for evidently labor without land is profitless.

Can it be, however, that we have land enough, and yet do not allow Labor to combine with Capital in producing wealth from it?

Perhaps some of your readers may be able to give me some help in my difficulty—to understand how it is in our social system it is not possible for every adult to earn by useful labor a living wage.—Yours, &c.,

HARRY DE PASS.

National Liberal Club, S.W.,

February 20th, 1911.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—May I, while appreciating the tone of your article on "The State and the Right to Work," in your last issue, which is in advance of the general Liberal standpoint, venture to criticise two statements, which are barely just and tend to be misleading. "What is the nature of the mal-organisation, and how can it be remedied? These are questions, not so much of ethics as of economics, and they have never yet been answered to the general satisfaction." I do not know what standard is required to give "general satisfaction," but if the general public does not know what is the nature of the "mal-organisation," it has itself to blame. The value of any suggested remedies may be a matter of opinion, but the minute and detailed investigations which such writers as Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Webb, Mr. Hobson, and others have given to the public, demonstrate unquestionably the "nature of the mal-organisation."

Further, towards the end of the article this sentence occurs: "The Poor Law Commissioners, if they have nowhere gone to the root of the matter, have urged a whole series of palliatives, which have as yet been little used." In view of the position taken up by the supporters of the Minority Report, there is a subtle irony about this statement for which there is no justification. They have persistently advocated remedies which will go to the root of the evil, and have only tolerated palliatives where it is absolutely impossible to eradicate the cause. Doubtless the fibrous roots of the cause of unemployment are set deep in our present economic and industrial system and in our present land system, but to eradicate them means one of two alternatives—either a revolution or a long slow process of reform. The latter is, of course, the only sane method, and it is to be hoped that the tendency of Liberal policy will continue to move in that direction. Yet, however deep the roots may lie, in so far as "mal-organisation" is a cause of the evil, it at least should be susceptible of comparatively immediate reform. The remedies which have been suggested by the Minority Report come well within the range of practical politics, strike at the roots, or as near the roots as is at present practicable, and yet will, nevertheless, be free from the undesirable effects of mere palliatives.—Yours, &c.,

E. HUNTER.

12, Angell Park Gardens, Brixton, S.W.

February 22nd, 1911.

THE PLAGUE AND SANITATION.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—Will you permit me to comment upon the conclusion arrived at in the article, "The Puzzle of the Plague," in your issue of February 18th? I am moved to do this because I understand that *THE NATION* assists in moulding the opinions of a section of the public which is entitled to the greatest respect, and because I believe that the latter portion of the article is calculated to "darken knowledge."

The writer of the article appears unduly impressed with the historic records of older outbreaks of plague, and to count as nought the conclusions arrived at by the patient study by epidemiologists of the disease as it has manifested itself during the last sixteen years. It is surely conceivable that the disease as we know it to-day has undergone slight modification.

After referring to the fact that, in the visitation of this country in 1665, cats and dogs were the victims of human ignorance, the writer asks if we have any better ground for accusing the rat, and apparently concludes that we have not!

In this connection, the extraordinary statement occurs that "the theory has been tested to the full in India and all but abandoned." This is emphatically not the case. The importance of rat plague in the dissemination of bubonic, as distinct from pneumonic, plague was early recognised in Bombay. Later, as the pestilence spread over India, the intimate relationship of rat plague and human plague was observed, and during the last few years the dependence of the epidemics upon coincident disease in the rats has been clearly shown by the extensive observations of the Committee for the Investigation of Plague in India.

Plague has visited many countries during the last ten years, and the conclusions arrived at by those who have studied the epidemic on the spot coincide with that of the Indian observers—viz., that the pandemic of plague is in essence a rat-disease in which man participates more or less according to the intimacy of his relationship with these rodents.

The fact that in Glasgow in 1900 (not in 1899, as stated in the article) plague-infected rats were not discovered at the time of the first small outbreak, weighs little against the accumulated experience of experts in most other parts of the world, and I would point out that when plague reappeared in that city in the following autumn the disease was discovered amongst the rats in the same locality from which the cases were derived.

I must also take exception to the dismissal of the mass of evidence, epidemiological and experimental, that the disease is conveyed from rat to man by rat-fleas as "a somewhat fantastic suggestion." This interpretation has, for obvious reasons, not been put to direct proof, but the experiments of the Commission working in India have shown that epidemics of the disease can be so produced in animals, and they have so far totally failed to produce them by any other means.

I am, however, quite prepared to admit that the spread of plague in England in 1665 may not have been dependent to the same degree on coincident rat-plague, as is the case with the present pandemic. Further, I think it most probable that in the great epidemic in Europe in the fourteenth century, bubonic, as well as pneumonic, plague spread from man to man without the assistance of the rat. The historical records show, as is pointed out in your article, the far more rapid spread of the pestilence, notwithstanding the vastly inferior rate of human traffic. They also indicate that the virulence and infectivity of the bacillus in that plague was greater than at present, and that a more severe infection of the blood occurred in man than now obtains.

A small change in the characteristics of the bacillus might lead to the blood of human beings sick with bubonic plague containing as many of the microbes as are at present commonly found in the blood of infected rats. Under these circumstances the rat and its fleas would be superfluous, and the human flea would be capable of transmitting the disease from man to man. The human flea at present can seldom be effective, because it has been shown that the number of bacilli in the blood of human cases rarely reaches a sufficient amount for the flea to ingest with one stomachful even a single bacillus.

There are many other statements in your article I am tempted to controvert, but this letter is already too long.—Yours, &c.,

CHARLES J. MARTIN, M.B., D.Sc., F.R.S.
(Member of the Advisory Committee for the Investigation of Plague in India.)

The Lister Institute, Chelsea Gardens, S.W.
February 23rd, 1911.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—On page 828 of THE NATION I read "We are all accustomed to the flattering explanation that it is our progress in cleanliness which has banished pestilence. That is an historical exaggeration. The change in our own social habits began nowhere near the date of the last visitation of the plague. One may doubt whether it was appreciable before the nineteenth century." The writer evidently has in mind all the modern refinements of personal cleanliness and municipal sanitation, but are not a few great elementary measures greater than all these? The last great visit of the plague to London was followed immediately by the paving of the streets and the provision of ample and pure

water by means of the "New River." London, which for centuries had been a helpless quagmire of permanent filth, visited by plague on an average once every fifteen years for three centuries, was never really troubled by plague again. There were giants in those days, and we modern pigmies should not despise them because we can make little improvement on their great work.—Yours, &c.,

February 21st, 1911.

A. J. MUNDELLA.

EXAMINATIONS AND NATIONAL EFFICIENCY.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Commenting recently on Dr. Hartog's paper on the above subject and Lord Cromer's remarks thereon, you promised to deal more fully with the matter later. This week you print an article on one aspect of the question, which I earnestly hope does not represent your final conclusions on the problems raised. We are accustomed to look to you, sir, for progressive views in all directions, whether political, social, or educational. The note struck by the writer of your article is one of blank conservatism. The penultimate sentence is as follows: "But they (competitive examinations) are the only possible security for the appointment of the best man on any basis of efficiency." To find the best method of choosing the best man is one of the greatest problems the democracy has before it, and if Progressives have nothing better to offer than the competitive examination, they will indeed have a hard task to prevent the growth of the recent reactionary sentiment in favor of nepotism and patronage. But this reactionary sentiment, although a feature to be noted and guarded against, is the merest side-issue in the great revolt against the competitive examination system. There are thousands of earnest teachers in every department of education who are equally averse to patronage and examinations as methods of selection. It is surely a common experience, when the time comes to take another step forward, for those who disapproved of the last forward movement to hope to hustle us back. To be afraid to move lest we should move backwards is always a position of weakness. But it is impossible to stay where we are. The evidence that the competitive examination does not secure the best man on any basis of efficiency is overwhelming. No extension of this system to private enterprise on any extensive scale takes place. A competitive examination, at any rate as at present understood and conducted, can never be a real test of intellect or intelligence. It can only test the candidate's memory and his capacity to pass examinations. It is not culture that modern educationists point out is not to be measured by examinations, but brains. The competitive examination is not only condemned for its failure, but also for its accomplishment. It cannot help us to choose the best man, and it actually converts what, but for it, might have been a good man into an inferior man. No one who has seen much of men preparing for these strenuous contests can doubt that many a candidate who starts with good brains secures the coveted post with brains no longer good.

The reference in your article to the system of examinations for entrance to professions is somewhat outside our present controversy. These examinations are qualifying, not competitive, examinations, and are, therefore, in many respects freed from the evils complained of. But even so, drastic reforms are demanded by many interested in education in the present examination methods of admission to professions. The competitive examination did an immense service to the State in breaking the back of the unblushing patronage of the type exemplified by your Lord Melbourne story. The introduction of some of its features into examinations intended only as accessories to education has done a great disservice to education.

It is impossible to believe that at the beginning of the twentieth century we have reached finality in our methods of choosing suitable persons to fill public offices, and it is greatly to be hoped that all who believe in progress will do their best to encourage the movement for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole question of the influence of examinations, competitive and otherwise, upon national efficiency.—Yours, &c.,

64, Harley Street, W.

LAURISTON E. SHAW.

February 20th, 1911.

[We did not maintain that competitive examinations were an ideal method of choosing the men of best capacity

for the public services. But we disagree with Mr. Shaw in maintaining that the "capacity to pass examinations" is not "a real test of intellect and intelligence." It is a real test, though not a complete one. We agree that, by reforms in method of examination, the test could be improved. But it might have been expected that one who expresses so general a condemnation of competitive examinations as essentially "reactionary" would at least have indicated some better method of selection.—ED., NATION.]

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—May I thank you for the timely and outspoken article in your current issue on "Examinations for Public Offices"? As a member of a Civil Servants' Association which has been devoting considerable time to inquiry into the recent growth of patronage, I have been keenly interested in the reports of Dr. Hartog's paper on examinations and in Lord Cromer's speech from the chair of the meeting of the Society of Arts at which that paper was read.

Your readers will doubtless have observed that, whereas Dr. Hartog appears to content himself with the suggestion that the present general system of filling appointments by competitive examination may not be perfect, and that the time is ripe for an inquiry into that system, Lord Cromer, in the first place, admits that competition may be said generally to have produced satisfactory results, and then proceeds to explain his method of appointment to the Sudanese Civil Service—i.e., selection without competition; he adds that the system produced good results—no chief who has selected his subordinates is likely to proclaim in public that his system has produced bad results! It would be interesting to know why the Sudanese Civil Service must be filled by selection while the Indian Civil Service can be filled by open competition. I think, too, that if it were feasible, investigation of the motives of those who advocate selection might prove fruitful. Is there any possibility that by a system of selection we might be able to staff important public services entirely from the ranks of those whose social position is a guarantee that they will possess that ingrained "habit of command" on which the future of the Empire rests? I am entirely in agreement with the writer of your article when he says that "selection will inevitably land us in the incompetency and corruption of that ancient Patronage which is the everlasting bane of honest government." One calls to mind the reply of the distinguished lecturer who was asked by a student to give his opinion on examination. He replied: "The object of an examination is neither to test the candidate's intellectual qualifications nor to see that his capabilities are related to the post he wants to fill, but simply to keep the chief's incompetent nephew out of the job!" When Lord Cromer has eliminated human nature, it will be time to claim that patronage can be eliminated from a system of selection, whether by an individual or by a committee. The type of examination for Government appointments will, no doubt, bear close inquiry; without making any pretence to speak as an educational expert, one might suggest that a carefully prepared general-knowledge paper would be of use in determining a candidate's mental outfit. No advocate of competitive examination suggests that the present type of examination is perfect, but it has in the past admittedly produced good results, and it will not be a truly democratic government that will replace the existing method by a system of selection that cannot afford an equal chance to all who desire to enter the public service.

It has been a matter for very great regret, particularly to those of us who nourish a Liberal conscience beneath a necessarily non-political exterior, that in the matter of Patronage a Liberal Ministry should have offended to such an extent. Mr. Graham Wallas tells us that, when the Order in Council of 1870 established open competition, the public learnt "that the race of Tite Barnacles was now to become extinct; appointment was to be by merit." But a provision in that Order in Council allowed a departure from the principle of open competition in certain cases where the head of the Department felt that special qualifications were required. Lord Cromer regrets that that provision has been allowed to remain almost a dead letter. We know that that provision has never been less a dead letter than during the last few years. The public perhaps does not yet realise how large a number of appointments by selection have been made in connection with the recent welcome measures of social

reform. There is, of course, a considerable amount of purely clerical work in connection with Labor Exchanges and land valuation which could have been performed at least as well by clerks appointed through the ordinary machinery of Civil Service examinations. The defence of "special qualifications" is put forward by Ministers, and Mr. Buxton, when questioned as to the Labor Exchange appointments, naturally replies that a thoroughly efficient staff has been obtained by means of a Selection Committee, and that he does not propose to change the method. Similarly, when it is pointed out that all the principal administrative posts in the Board of Education are filled by Patronage, the President replies that special experience is necessary. The number of these appointments has risen from 56 in 1902 to 104 at the present time, and the administration of the Department is thus thrown into the hands of men whose qualifications have been subjected to no kind of official test.

The history of the Order in Council of 1870 will be familiar to readers of Lord Morley's "Life of Gladstone," and I need only say here that the special provision for appointments without open competition was inserted as a compromise to meet the wishes of Lord Clarendon and the Foreign Office. It is that compromise which, according to answers to questions in the House of Commons last year, has enabled Liberal Ministers since 1906 to make by selection appointments which cost the country nearly a quarter of a million pounds in annual salaries—and that figure includes only a small proportion of the salaries of Land Valuation officials (now numbering, I believe, over one thousand), who are at present for the most part unestablished. It is our hope that this matter may receive attention in the Press and may form the subject of debate in the House of Commons.

It appears to me, sir, that this question is one of the utmost importance for democracy. The Civil Service of this country is growing rapidly, and the gradual accomplishment of those schemes of social reform which are now under consideration will entail further large increases in its numbers. As you suggest, one of the supreme tests of democracy will be its ability successfully to control its Civil Service, to ensure that the Civil Servant shall be servant rather than master. It has hitherto been the fashion to take Civil Service matters for granted, and it is to be hoped that in the future the Press will undertake the task of educating public opinion on questions of such vital importance to the well-being of the State as that which you have raised. Our ideal for the Civil Service is that a man shall enter it by means of open competition with his fellows, and that he shall then have the opportunity of a straight run, unhampered by caste prejudice, to its highest post.—Yours, &c.,

A SERVANT OF THE STATE.

February 22nd, 1911.

CHURCH AND STATE MARRIAGE LAW.

To the Editor of THE NATION.

SIR,—Surely your note to "C. C.'s" letter in no way meets his case against you. That was, that want of information or bias had led you into injustice to the Bishop of London's knowledge of the law of marriage and of his powers over his Chancellor; and that when events showed you to have been wrong you merely took refuge in silence. Your note deals only with quite a new point, not raised by "C. C."—viz., what ought to be the law as to licences and, I suppose by inference, Church marriages also.

May another "devoted though often sorely tried Church reader," who cannot imagine what you mean by the "State organising its defence" except legislation to compel bishops to grant licences and clergy to solemnise marriages not recognised by the as yet unaltered law of the Church—may such a reader reply that that would be organising, not defence against the Church, but attack upon her? The State's sufficient defence exists already, in the Registrar's office. Marriages due to State law only are sufficiently solemnised by State officers only. To compel the Church either to break her own laws, or to alter them under compulsion, is naked Erastianism. You can fairly disestablish the Church if you do not like her. But no really fair Liberal will attempt to coerce her from without, especially while she is held in establishment.

And from within, Liberals who are earnest and intelli-

gent in their Church principles will resist such coercion to the death. To be unestablished or disestablished never disgraced the historic Church of Jesus Christ. But to be the same conscience of a State always disgraced her.

We Church Liberals have no right to demand that you should accept our Church principles. But we may fairly expect from the editor of a first-rate paper such a view of them as is at least respectful and intelligent and awake to well-known facts. For a long time the bishops have been more careful in their patents to new Chancellors, and Dr. Tristram is almost the last survivor of those with the old class of powers—which, indeed, were only the easy usurpations of a careless and Erastian age.

Verily, if our Church principles did not themselves compel us to be Liberals, the attitude, either ignorant or unfair, of the Liberal Press would often tempt us to be Tory.—Yours, &c.,

TH. HILL.

The Vicarage, North Somercotes,
Lincolnshire, February 21st, 1911.

THE PLEASURE OF THE CANARY ISLANDS.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—During a visit to these islands which I have just completed, I was pleased to find so many English papers available, including your valuable journal. I was particularly pleased to be able to get the review of the week's doings and opinions at home from the pages of *THE NATION*. In this way I felt not altogether removed from the sphere of home politics, and have been able, since my return, much more easily to resume the broken thread. The readiness with which English journals are obtainable in these islands is an evidence of the extent to which they are becoming Anglicised.

It may interest your readers to know that while at Orotava, in Teneriffe (which is the beauty spot of this interesting group), during the wintry weather at the beginning of the year, I was bathing daily in the open Atlantic, which washes the shores of the bay. The water was so agreeable in temperature that I could stay in for a lengthened time, and afterwards enjoy a prolonged sun bath on the sands. Nothing could have been more healthful or invigorating.

Those of your readers who winter abroad may be glad to know that such facilities can be enjoyed even in January within four days' run by liner of our own shores.—Yours, &c.,

G. MACAM.

Spencer Park, St. Albans, February 21st, 1911.

THE INDO-CHINESE OPIUM TRADE.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR,—If I may be allowed a final reply to "Shanghai," it need only be very brief. It is satisfactory to find that we agree as to the effects of poppy suppression. These are now officially confirmed by Sir A. Hosie, so far as his investigation has yet gone, according to Sir E. Grey's statement in Parliament last week. In Kansu and Shensi, two backward provinces, he reports a reduction of under twenty-five per cent. and of thirty per cent. respectively; in Shansi and Szechuan, so far as the latter has yet been visited, total suppression.

As to the historical question, your readers will judge whether Lord John Russell's public justification of the war of 1840 in Parliament, or the action of his Government in sending orders to stop it, which unhappily arrived too late, is the more reliable.

As to the personal question, I regret if I have said anything that could possibly give offence, in commenting on the "bias" which seemed to me to be indicated by your correspondent's hint at unavowed motives on the part of the Chinese officials in their attempt to suppress the opium trade. His experience of things Chinese is evidently much greater than mine, but I cannot think that this settles the questions between us. My two visits to the Far East have convinced me that "the man on the spot" is often the victim of prejudices with regard to the populations around him, such as to render him a by no means safe guide as to the motives which prompt their actions.—Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER.

Tunbridge Wells, February 21st, 1911.

THE CASE FOR ADULT SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor of *THE NATION*.

SIR.—May I say a few words in reference to a letter which appeared in your columns on the 18th inst. under the above heading. In that letter Mrs. Jonson urged Liberal women not to compromise on the Conciliation Bill, but to unite in demanding Adult Suffrage. She says: "If a majority of Liberal and Labor Members, such as we now have in the House, is not enough to pass a democratic measure like Adult Suffrage, when is it ever likely to pass?" And she seems to assume that the passing of a small measure such as the Conciliation Bill would postpone any further electoral reform indefinitely. Yet Mr. Keir Hardie told us lately that "he was an advocate of Adult Suffrage, but he recognised that Adult Suffrage could never be secured until a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill became law," and I believe that that is the view of most practical politicians who are generally in favor of Adult—not merely manhood—Suffrage. We must remember that Mr. Asquith is an avowed opponent of Woman's Suffrage in any form. His view of Adult Suffrage is probably, therefore, radically different to that of most Liberal women. In fact, he himself said only a few weeks ago, when replying to an Adult Suffrage deputation, that, "as regarded Adult Suffrage, he had not heard any allusion—he was glad he had not—to one rather thorny aspect of that question, namely, the distinction of sex. . . . But let them leave that on one side. What he wanted to see was some practical system of legislation, by which this principle of Adult Suffrage—so far, at any rate, as men were concerned (the italics are mine)—could be carried out. . . ."

Are we then to trust the chances of the women to an Adult Suffrage Bill brought in by a Government at whose head stands an open opponent of our cause?

Surely, all who have had any political experience will agree that, whatever the difficulties that may beset a non-party measure of such importance as the Conciliation Bill, they dwindle into insignificance when compared to the dangers that lie before us if we attempt to pursue the course of waiting to move a woman's amendment to a Reform Bill to be introduced by the Government at some dim, distant, and uncertain date.

Let us now concentrate all our efforts on "getting our foot inside the door." Once some women—if only a million—are qualified to vote, any future Reform Bill must concern women as well as men, and Mr. Asquith, when he discusses Adult Suffrage, will no longer be able to leave the "rather thorny aspect" of the "distinction of sex" on one side.—Yours, &c.,

M. H. MACKWORTH.

Llansoar, Caerleon, Monmouthshire,
February 22nd, 1911.

Poetry.

SUGGESTED BY RECENT EVENTS.

ONCE lust, and hate, and man's brutality,
Held in despair a council to decide
Where, in the name of virtue, they could hide
From Christ, and His disciples, where abide
Not pierced by His uncompromising eye;
Then one among them spoke most cunningly,
"In Jesus' very temple let us lie,
For what man sees the heart in his own side?"
Forthwith they went and crouched within the dome,
That smokes with gold and fumes of purple dusk,
They carried candles, frankincense, and musk,
And drank God's health in wines distilled at home.
Disguised they were and thought Christ knew them
not,

Which still they think, as still they hide and plot.

F. M.

The World of Books.

THE "NATION" OFFICE, THURSDAY NIGHT.

THE following is our weekly selection of books which we commend to the notice of our readers:—

- "Woman and Labor." By Olive Schreiner. (Unwin. 8s. 6d. net.)
 "The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, and The Showing-up of Blanco Posnet." By Bernard Shaw. (Constable. 6s.)
 "England under the Hanoverians." By C. Grant Robertson. (Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.)
 "Criticisms and Appreciations of the Works of Charles Dickens." By G. K. Chesterton. (Dent. 7s. 6d. net.)
 "Anglo-American Memories." By George W. Smalley. (Duckworth. 12s. 6d. net.)
 "Dulce Domum: George Moberly, His Family and Friends." By C. A. E. Moberly. (Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)
 "The Onward Cry, and Other Sermons." By the Rev. Stopford Brooke. (Duckworth. 6s. net.)
 "The Common Growth." By M. E. Loane. (Arnold. 6s.)
 "The Ashes of a God." By F. W. Bain. (Methuen. 5s. net.)
 "The Card, a Story of Adventure in the Five Towns." By Arnold Bennett. (Methuen. 6s.)
 "Etudes et Portraits d'Autrefois." Par Maurice Dumoulin. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 5fr.)
 "Visions d'Egypte." Par A. Le Dentu. (Paris: Perrin. 3fr. 50.)
 "Rêver et Vivre." Roman. Par Jean de la Brète. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 3fr. 50.)

WE understand that Mrs. Constance Garnett is engaged upon a translation of Dostoevsky's novels, which will be issued in a uniform edition by Mr. Heinemann. We are already indebted to Mrs. Garnett for excellent translations of Tolstoy and Turgenev. An adequate rendering of Dostoevsky, such as we may confidently expect from Mrs. Garnett, will be a valuable addition to our literature. In spite of his lack of finish and his morbid imagination, he sometimes reaches heights that few novelists have attained. De Vogüé described Dostoevsky, in "Le Roman Russe," as "a mystic realist, with the heart of a Sister of Charity and the mind of a Grand Inquisitor." Certainly few writers possessed in greater degree the power of moving their readers to pity and terror. The new issue is the more interesting inasmuch as Dostoevsky's beautiful "Crime and Punishment" has lately suffered a sad distortion on the English stage.

THE letters and journals of the late Charles Eliot Norton are being prepared for publication by Norton's daughter, Miss Sara Norton and Mr. M. A. De Wolfe Howe. The book will fill two large volumes, and Norton's close intimacy with several of the leading English and American men of letters of his day, and his own fine and exalted character, and great range of accomplishment, give promise of a biography of rare interest.

THE second volume of Professor F. M. Fling's work on "Mirabeau and the French Revolution," will be published by Messrs. Putnam in the early autumn. The first volume, dealing with Mirabeau's youth, appeared in 1908. The coming instalment treats of Mirabeau as the opponent of arbitrary government, and closes at the beginning of the revolutionary crisis. The whole work is founded on a very full study of all the materials published or in manuscript, and promises to be the standard biography of Mirabeau in English.

SEVERAL volumes on Irish history are to be published during the present season. One of the most important is Dr. Robert Murray's "Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement," a work based on a fresh examination of the documents and bringing further light to bear upon the controversies of the time. It will be published by Messrs. Macmillan next month. Mr. Joseph R. Fisher's "The End of the Irish Parliament," which is announced by Mr. Arnold, covers the thirty years preceding the Union, and examines the causes that produced the Irish Rebellion, as well as the motives that led Pitt to abolish the Irish Parliament and the means by which his policy was carried. From the Oxford University Press we are to have "Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1216," by Mr. G. H. Orpen, and Mr. Elliot Stock has in the press the sixth volume of Mr. P. H. Hore's "History of Wexford."

"THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE" announces that the work of writing a biography of the late Marquis of Ripon has been entrusted to Mr. Lucien Wolf. The book will be based on the private and official papers of the late Marquis. They contain a full record of home, colonial, and foreign affairs during the whole period of Lord Ripon's life from 1849 to his retirement from the Government in 1908. Mr. Wolf will also have access to the papers of Lord Goderich, the first Marquis, who succeeded Canning as Premier in 1827. These papers have not previously been examined for historical or biographical purposes, though they are supposed to contain valuable information in regard to the political affairs of the early years of the nineteenth century.

THE Stock Exchange is not without its influence on the world of books, and Dr. Philip Schidrowitz's treatise on "Rubber," which Messrs. Methuen will publish shortly, is sure to find readers whose interest in the subject has been roused by the recent boom. Dr. Schidrowitz has a first-hand knowledge of the rubber plantations in the Malay States and in other countries, and of the manufacture of rubber in the United Kingdom. His book contains a review of the different branches of the rubber industry, together with a discussion of the chemistry, physics, and mechanics of rubber in its various forms.

MESSRS. HERBERT & DANIEL are starting a series of illustrated literary cyclopædias, which will contain short histories of the great literatures of the world, together with English translations of chosen extracts. The first volume is on "Persian Literature," by Mr. Claud Field, and covers the period from the Zend-Avesta to the modern Persian drama. It will be followed by a volume on "Italian Literature," by Miss Egerton Castle, and other contributions to the series are in active preparation.

MR. HAVELOCK ELLIS's "The World of Dreams," which Messrs. Constable have held over from last season, is now almost ready for publication. The aim of the book is to determine the most elementary and fundamental laws of the dream world in the case of normal persons, and Mr. Ellis has come to the conclusion that, though the material of dreams may be subdivided, it is all of one order and purely psychic. Mr. Ellis's deductions are based on personal materials collected over a period of twenty years.

UNDER the title of "A Student's Library," Mr. Charles H. Kelly has just published a volume designed to furnish students, both younger and older, with definite guidance in reading. Guide-books to books are particularly useful in the present over-charged state of literary production, and one of the best of these is Mr. J. M. Robertson's "Courses of Study," a revised edition of which appeared in 1908. "A Student's Library" gives most of its space to theology and Church history, but Mr. Kellett's essay on "The Masterpieces of Literature" and Dr. Workman's on "The Study of History" will be found valuable by the general reader. Dr. Workman holds the balance well between the "scientific" and the "literary" theories of writing history. He holds that few histories are worth reading that are twenty years old, and that history must be first and foremost scientific—accurate in its facts and basing its generalisations on sufficient data. Majesty or beauty in language cannot compensate for inaccuracy but he rightly adds, "we fail to see why history should not unite both style and accuracy; certainly, if history is ever to be popular or to take its right place in education, it must interest as well as instruct. Dryness in itself is no recommendation, nor is Dryasdust necessarily beyond correction."

MESSRS. BLACKWOOD are issuing "A Short History of Scotland," by Mr. Andrew Lang. Mr. Lang has aimed at a concise history, which will give the results of the most recent historical scholarship and at the same time fill the gap between inadequate primers and the larger works of Burton, Professor Hume Brown, and Mr. Lang himself.

Reviews.

A WOMAN'S PROPHECY.*

If one excepts the early work of Mary Wollstonecraft, it is a curious fact that the only great book in our language which has sought to express the ideals of the modern movement among women has been the work, not of a woman, but of a man. Mary Wollstonecraft was a pioneer who wrote before the ears of her fellows were ready to listen or their minds to understand. Her eloquent book, with its trenchant aphoristic style, which so well represented the deliberately reasonable mind of her age, was destined, after inspiring here and there a defiant but isolated follower, to become little more than a curiosity of literature, a landmark, indeed, in history, and a place for mental pilgrimages, but hardly a vital force or broad inspiration. There was to intervene, between its appearance and our own time, an early Victorian reaction, which probably marked for women the lowest ebb in the fortunes of their sex. Throughout our own generation, it is the influence of John Stuart Mill which has dominated. The very completeness of his statement of the case for the intellectual and political emancipation of women must have deterred other thinkers from attempting to vie with him. The literature of the movement has, indeed, received some notable additions. Mrs. Gilman has written, more particularly on the economic and educational sides of the question, with luminous good sense and a certain breadth of outlook. Miss Cicely Hamilton, in "Marriage as a Trade," hurled at every aspect of woman's dependent position a defiant analytic attack, which makes her book, with its curious intimacy of revelation and its unquestionable intellectual power, the ablest piece of propagandist work that any English woman has done with her pen during these recent years of experiment and revolt. At last there has come the book which is designed to be the prophecy and the gospel of the whole awakening. Written in pain and sickness during the last phase of the South African War, while the echo of pom-poms came through the shuttered window, and a Kaffir sentry paced outside, this lofty and eloquent volume is not merely a message from Olive Schreiner to her fellow-women. It is in a very real sense the call of a herald, who stands serene amid the wreck of battle and discerns the new peace and the better civilisation to which she summons us. Mill, with his close logic and reasonable habit of speech, burned beneath the surface with a certain intellectual fire. But it was the anger which a wise man feels at injustice and waste that stirred him. Remarkable as this book of Olive Schreiner's is, merely as an intellectual achievement, its greatness and its life are in the emotional power which has found its stimulus and its inspiration in a vision of the future.

Olive Schreiner has taken her stand far beyond our present conflicts. There are some pages which advocate woman suffrage. But the outlook of this book has a serenity and a scope of vision which few minds can command in any contemporary struggle. She writes to-day of the efforts of women to command a place of equality in the world's work as a philosophic historian might write in our century of the coming of Christianity, or of the rise of the spirit of rationalism in Europe. One thinks of the book less as a great pamphlet (which in one aspect it is) than as a sort of cosmic poem, which traces with glowing words and exalted style the course by which woman has struggled through savagery and civilisation to the stage which will soon be hers. Had the original book survived, which was burned by some English soldier, with a recklessness worthy of the Caliph Omar, after the taking of Johannesburg, this impression would no doubt have been strengthened. But even this smaller volume, a mere sketch or fragment of the first ill-fated work, has the range and swing of a book that is history and makes history. One can understand how natural the writing of such a study would be to an observant and poetic mind which had enjoyed Olive Schreiner's opportunities. She has lived on the Karoo amid the wild animals and the birds, whose mating and nursing she has so intimately studied. She has seen the position of women among the primitive Kaffir tribes, and witnessed its

direct dependence upon the economic conditions in which they live. She has known the habits of thought of the pastoral Boers, with their fixed seventeenth-century outlook, as only a friend and a kinsman could know them. To all this outward knowledge she has brought the eager personal experience of a modern woman, herself acclaimed almost from girlhood as a pioneer of advanced thought. The consequence of this unique endowment is that the book sweeps through its argument with the volume of a flood whose waters have been long in gathering. It makes, on the whole, for the same conclusions towards which Mill was working. But there lies between John Stuart Mill and Olive Schreiner a generation of insight and experience, and above all a woman's temperament and passion. The Utilitarian School was not conspicuous for the possession of an historic sense, and it is the pervading presence of history which makes this book so unique. Mill wrote as the pioneer whose passion was engaged in establishing the first fundamentals of a controversial thesis. Olive Schreiner has the faith of a prophet, who sees the future already in the germ. Above all, she has what no man can have save by a sympathetic and conscious effort of the imagination, a physical realisation of what it is to be a woman. For Mill women were reasonable beings, and the whole force of his personality was bent to vindicating for them the rights which reason may claim. For Olive Schreiner women are reasonable beings who bear children, and if she argues with no less passion than Mill and no less cogency for the rights of equality, she insists through all her argument that it is not merely for an equal sex that she pleads, but for a sex which has its different but necessary complement to contribute to the common human stock.

It would be an affectation to attempt, in a first notice of a book which will be read and discussed for many years to come, a final estimate of its contribution to thought. Its central idea, so far from being new, is the guiding inspiration, conscious, half-conscious, or clearly realised, of the great army of women in every nation which is working towards emancipation. It is that a long series of causes, mainly economic, has forced the average middle and upper class woman of our generation into a position of parasitism. She is not what all women were in savage communities, the agricultural worker who tills the fields while the man hunts and fights. She is not what woman was before the industrial age, the spinner, the weaver, the baker, and the brewer, engaged day by day in a round of varied activities as interesting as they were important. When her place was in fact the home, the home was also a hive of industry. To-day she has been forced out in the lower ranks of society to the labor of the factory and the mill, and subjected in the process to a ruthless system of sweating, which is the badge and the consequence of her whole position of subordination. In the middle and upper classes, unless she steps boldly out into professional life, her employment is gone. She is expected, apart from her recreations and social activities, to confine herself to the performance of her functions of sex. It is a narrowing of her activities which never was demanded of her before. Of the savage mother was expected a prolific fruitfulness which the least thoughtful sections of public opinion would condemn to-day. The world to-day does not ask for multitudes of children, but rather demands of a woman that the children she rears shall be physically and intellectually fit. Our efforts are concentrated rather on checking infantile mortality, and in giving to the children that are born the best chance in life. Late marriages, the excess of females over males, the growing percentage of children which survive, and communal education, are all tending to make of child-bearing and rearing rather an episode which covers a few years of a woman's life than her whole career. Her functions as a mother performed, she is left through all the rest of her life's range, a parasite and a dependent, who contributes nothing significant to the world's work. It is a fate that has faced her before in the world's history only in periods of luxury and decay. It menaces her with moral degeneration, and it must have on the man who is her companion and on the children who grow up under her influence consequences hardly less fatal than those which fall upon her.

It is on such considerations as these that Olive Schreiner bases her central demand on behalf of women, that they

* "Woman and Labor." By Olive Schreiner. Unwin. 8s. 6d. net.

shall take the whole of labor for their province. The reasons which made for a strict sub-division of labor in older communities have largely disappeared already, and must continue to disappear. The sturdier muscular endowment of man, which was the basis of this sub-division, becomes, with each decade of our mechanical advance, and with each new invention, of less and steadily less consequence. There is little work left in which great thews are of much importance. It is even arguable that there are ranges of modern activities in which the woman, quick, vital, nervous, and intelligent, is better endowed than the average man. Olive Schreiner carries this argument so far as to urge that even war, which has become a combat of wits and endurance, need no longer be an exclusively male occupation. That particular claim will seem to most readers an obvious exaggeration, but perhaps the only reply which one need make to it is that war must be, in the reasonable and civilised world with which Olive Schreiner is dealing, an anachronism and a forgotten barbarity. Her main thesis that there is nothing in the mental equipment of women which ought to debar them from an equal share in the world's work, and nothing even in their physical characteristics which ought for long, amid the altering conditions of modern industry, to shut them out from many spheres of civilised labor, is one which our generation is already accepting. The fact has changed; it is only the prejudice that survives. Women have, at least as pioneers, already claimed almost every sphere of labor as their province. The battle that has still to be won is to achieve the recognition of the claim that follows from their new position for equal rights, for equal pay, and for a share in that field of labor which we call government.

It is difficult in the compass of a review to give an adequate idea of the originality and power of an argument which seems, when we reduce it to a bald summary, to approach so nearly to the current ideas of most modern men and women. Its chief claim to distinction is that, while it reduces the sex functions of woman to a limited position among the whole range of her activities, and argues against the dependence into which the exaggeration of these functions may force her, it never falls into the contrary error of ignoring sex, of treating it as an accident tacked on to the neutral equipment of a reasonable being. It recognises, on the contrary, that the instincts of motherhood, actual and potential, underlie a woman's outlook on human life. She is the giver and the preserver of life. She thinks of the children of men as the fruit of her pains. She knows that all the human litter of a battlefield is the creation of women's labor and women's love. With a mental equipment that differs in no wise on the abstract plane from a man's, with a physical equipment that may be as useful, she has an attitude towards life at her disposal as the gift which her full emancipation will enable her to bestow upon any civilisation which rests no longer on the suppression of half its children.

MR. FULLER MAITLAND ON BRAHMS.*

THE problem with which Mr. Fuller Maitland has had to grapple in producing the third volume of "The New Library of Music" is a more subtle one than that which confronted either of his predecessors in the series. In writing of Hugo Wolf, Mr. Ernest Newman had the comparatively simple task of championing a composer who has never received due recognition in this country. Next, Mr. Streatfeild undertook the congenial one of hacking away the last remnants of Handel's shrine and showing him as a living man expressing himself in a living art. Mr. Fuller Maitland has nothing to set up and nothing to tear down; his case is rather that the love of Brahms's music has grown continually deeper in the hearts of those who know it well, and that its appeal has widened with time, so that it is now enjoyed by the audiences of the People's Concert Society, or the crowds who throng St. Paul's Cathedral to hear the *Requiem*; and he contends that the growing appreciation is healthy and permanent. What then remains to be done? Much, surely, since while it is

true, as Mr. Fuller Maitland insists, that Brahms is for the many, not for the few, there is still a wide difference between the Brahms that the ordinary concert-goer knows and loves and Brahms as he appears to the smaller circle of his admirers; or, to put it more succinctly, between the Brahms of the People's Concert Society and of the Classical Concert Society. Out of some two hundred songs, there are about twenty which everyone who knows good songs at all loves to hear, and can hear constantly; one out of the three piano sonatas, two out of the three violin sonatas may be considered to be really common property, and this represents roughly the proportion with regard to every class of his chamber music. The horn trio and the one for piano and strings in C minor stand far above the other three trios in the affections of musical people at large; one may hear the string quartet in A minor six times for every once that one hears either of the other two, and, turning to the choral works, one asks how is it that the *Schicksalslied* has taken root in our soil, while *Nänie* and the *Gesang der Parzen* have died, and that the masses, who almost worship the *Requiem*, remain unmoved by the *Triumphlied*?

How far is this attitude due to ignorance, and that of the professed Brahms advocate due to partisanship? Is it possible that the widening of the appeal of Brahms's music to the public will go on with increasing knowledge till it covers every work which such a student as Mr. Fuller Maitland holds high, or is it possible to find some quality existent in certain works, non-existent in others, which definitely divides his music into two classes? If so, what is that quality, and how far does it run parallel with the present line of taste? A critical book must help towards the settlement of these questions.

In the early part of his book, Mr. Fuller Maitland seems rather to assume that there is no real distinction to be drawn in Brahms's music, that nearly everything—the exceptions are *Rinaldo* and one tune in the clarinet trio—which "Balfé himself might (in his more inspired hours) have written"—is equally fine, both in the thing it says and in the way the composer says it, and that people have only got to be good and grow up to it. But if one has sufficient patience to read on and to follow him through his discussion of each work separately, a discussion in which his close knowledge shows itself at many points, one discovers that he does draw distinctions. Certain movements are described as "intimate," "austere in style." The string quartet in C minor, the piano quartet in the same key, he finds "not at all easy to grasp," and in several cases he gives sound technical reasons for the difficulty. But the question is whether the lack of grasp is all on the hearer's side or partly on Brahms's, and this is what the general reader wants most to know. It is not settled by the fact that some individuals—Mr. Fuller Maitland is one of them and the present writer is another—can take delight in everything that he wrote. Matthew Arnold saw that Wordsworth could not be judged from the fact that he could "read with pleasure and edification 'Peter Bell,' and the whole series of 'Ecclesiastical Sonnets,' and even the 'Thanksgiving Ode.' " There are certain affinities of temperament which immediately establish personal relations between an artist and individual hearers, but the artist does not only speak to his friends but to the world at large, and that is why he requires the strong yet indefinable quality which we may call eloquence. Brahms had that gift in a remarkable degree. It bursts out in the *finale* of the piano sonata in F minor and that of the first symphony, it courses through the whole of the third symphony, and it makes the first two movements of the clarinet quintet at once sublime and human. The majority of the songs are full of it; it would be waste of time to multiply instances, but there is the other side, which shows in some of the unaccompanied motets some of the chamber music which Mr. Fuller Maitland calls "austere," and in at least two out of the four concertos, where Brahms seems not only to abandon the gift, but even to trample on it.

The æsthetic question, in what does the quality consist, would be helped immensely by a comparative study of Brahms's works with one another, and with those of his contemporaries; but, unfortunately, Mr. Fuller Maitland avoids comparison. The chapter on "Brahms and his Contemporaries" made one hope for something illuminating in this direction, but though it contains some interesting sug-

* "Brahms." By J. A. Fuller Maitland. The New Library of Music. Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.

gestions, it does not go very far. For example, Mr. Fuller Maitland just touches upon the personal respect and the artistic antipathy between Brahms and Tchaikovsky, and shows that their differences actually became translated into different melodic types, since the former had a special liking for themes built upon the successive notes of a chord, while "it is one of Tchaikovsky's most obvious characteristics that in his most beautiful and individual subjects the movement is what is called 'conjunct.'" An exception instantly comes to mind in the opening of the violin concertos of the two men, with their themes both built on an *arpeggio* of D. It would be interesting to trace the divergence of the two minds from the common starting-point, and to contrast the two works. The chapter is much slighter than we could wish it were, and the same may be said of the one which follows on the "Characteristics of the Art of Brahms." The whole arrangement of the book precludes the comparative method, since the general considerations precede the particular; and it seems almost inevitable that a plan which starts from the conclusions and works back to the premises should involve the writer in some inconsistencies. One such occurs when Mr. Fuller Maitland is defending Brahms as a colorist, and says, "in works for piano solo . . . color is as little to be looked for as its counterpart is in a pencil drawing," while later, when he is describing the piano pieces (op. 116-119), one of the most suggestive passages in the whole book, he brings forward the *Intermezzo* in E major (from op. 116) as "enough to prove that Brahms was fully sensible of what is called 'color' in music." This is quite true, but it also proves that color is to be looked for in piano music.

Another disadvantage arising from the inverted arrangement is seen in Mr. Fuller Maitland's treatment of the subject of form, about which he says some helpful things in such a scattered way that it is only too easy to miss them. In the chapter on "Characteristics," he quotes Joachim's fine words, "For him who dominates all its resources form is no binding fetter, but a spur, an incentive to new, free designs that are pre-eminently his own," and we may take it that the chief object of the book is to prove their applicability to Brahms. How far did Brahms arrive at new, free designs? Mr. Fuller Maitland shows that he went further than his enemies imagined; but if Mr. Maitland had grouped together all those first movements, for example, which make striking departures from the conventional design, and shown clearly what those departures were and what their object, he would have opened the eyes of those who imagine that Brahms's first movements are all of the same shape, and he would have gone far towards answering the questions of the relative appeal of Brahms's music. As a matter of fact he passes over one of the most masterly instances of "new and free design," the first movement of the trio in C minor (op. 101) with a mere statement that its development is "concise and to the point." It is the command of the resources of contrast and climax and the disregard of rules, even to the rejection of any conventional reprise, which makes this movement, like the *finale* of the first symphony, so powerful and so direct.

The omission, however, is exceptional. There are very few points which Mr. Fuller Maitland leaves out, and indeed we could have wished that he had sacrificed some for the sake of getting at closer grips with his subject and facing the larger issues more fully. In the case of the first symphony, for example, we could have spared the story of the Cambridge "quarters" to hear more of the form of the *finale*. We could have done without a few of the instances of alleged plagiarism, allegations which no thinking person takes seriously, and in their place accepted gratefully more of such general discussion as is contained in the first three pages of the most able chapter on songs. Mr. Fuller Maitland's care to name every point in every work is partly due to his single-hearted enthusiasm for the subject, partly to the very thoroughness of his knowledge, and also suggests that the atmosphere of "Grove" still surrounded him and that he had not forgotten the editor when he became the author. It is a great advantage to have the book so clearly indexed; at a moment's notice one can find information on any part of the subject, and references to Kalbeck's and Miss May's "Lives," the Herzogenberg and Joachim correspondences, show the reader how to carry his

studies further. It is, in fact, a book of reference, touched with the light of enthusiasm.

A HISTORY OF POVERTY.*

VIRTUES, no less than Empires, have their periods of decadence; and alms-giving, once the surest road to salvation, is degenerating into a vulgar error. Our benevolent instincts can no longer be indulged by the gift of a penny to the crossing-sweeper, nor may we settle the problem of the unemployed with the comfortable sanction of Scripture. The great must cultivate nobility by higher paths than patronage, the wealthy reap celestial profit from other harvests than popular distress, for in the Socialists' heaven Dives and Lazarus lie down side by side, and Charity, offspring of Injustice, abdicates in favor of Equity.

But if the necessity of poverty can no longer be assumed, its evil is still imperfectly realised. Progress, says the pessimist, is only an appearance. The sweated worker may so far have raised himself from thralldom as to earn his fourpence a day unchecked by individual interference, but let his claim to equality extend to the appropriation of his neighbor's purse, and the chains which bind him will be none the slacker because his captor is the State. A glimpse of history, however, helps to restore our equanimity; and Mr. Hackford's interesting volume, "The Good Old Times," should be read both as a reminder and an encouragement. If poverty is still a crime, its punishment is undeniably more merciful than of yore; the vagrant is no longer flogged at the cart's tail, docked of his ears, and branded with hot irons; stocks and pillory are swept away, and the debtor is discriminated from the criminal. In olden times the pauper, between the State, with its inhuman laws, and the Church, with its demoralising doles, was chained to his condition with no hope of escape. Until late years no systematic effort to attack the problem was attempted, and it seems astonishing to reflect how recently the public tolerated laws which seem so monstrous to the modern mind. It was not until 1833 that young people under eighteen were prohibited from working all night; public whipping of females lasted till the close of the eighteenth century; and even as late as 1835 a sentence of death was passed on a child of nine who poked a stick through a pane of glass in a shop-front and stole some pieces of paint worth twopence. The feeble-minded, for whom nowadays philanthropy does so much, were left a hundred years ago to wander naked and starving through the streets; or, if ill-treatment had made them savage, were chained in a cellar or a garret, fastened to the leg of a table, or tied to a post in an outhouse. One such victim was, in 1815, found so weighed down with iron as to be unable to move a limb, and in this condition had been kept nine years. Lunacy was everywhere treated with "darkness, chains and whips, cold, nakedness and filth, contempt, neglect and utter solitude." No less atrocious was the fate of the prisoner for debt. Completely at the warder's mercy, his clothing taken away, his food systematically filched, his bed and lodging charged for at extortionate rates, the debtor could be clapped into irons as an instant remedy for all complaints. In the prisons, young and old, criminals, lunatics, and debtors, were all herded together. The death service was a regular weekly occurrence, and the prison chapel a fashionable resort for sightseers who came to watch the victims in the condemned pen. "If this is the world," exclaimed Elizabeth Fry on entering Newgate, "where is God?"

Yet poverty had its cheery as well as its terrible side. The gypsies, with their swarthy faces, mysterious origin, and occult powers, drew a trail of romance through rural England; and the free life of the itinerant tradesman, the large fortunes left by some of the beggars on their deaths, suggest possibilities of color and adventure unknown to respectability. Among the wealthy beggars of the eighteenth century were Poor-Joe-All-Alone, who wore a very long beard, never lay in a bed for fifty years, and bequeathed by will £3,000 for the benefit of certain orphans and widows; Mary Wilkinson, a beggar and bone-grubber, and Esther Davies, who lived to the age of 103, both found with fortunes up to £500 concealed in their ragged clothing;

* "The Good Old Times." By Frederick W. Hackford. Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

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whilst William Stevenson, who had spent his life in begging, left, besides donations to the amount of £900, sufficient to give a feast to all the beggars in England who came to see his body lying in state. The true hero of poverty, however, is not the vagrant, passive victim of circumstances, but the wilful outlaw. No character nowadays can weave the atmosphere of enchantment that hung over Robin Hood and the men of merry Sherwood; whilst the bandit, the pirate, and the smuggler will ever remain the ideals of boyhood's dream. A glowing page in the history of vagabondism is turned by the famous Bamfylde Moore Carew, the Beggar King of the seventeenth century. Born in an aristocratic rectory in Bickley, he ran away from school and joined a camp of gypsies, with whom he lived on excellent terms, and who eventually elected him as their king. His favorite rôles were a shipwrecked seaman, a traveller captured by Barbary pirates, a rat-catcher, and a vendor of secret cures for madness in dogs and cattle. In the character of the first mate of a vessel he eloped with and married the handsome daughter of an apothecary at Newcastle; but, tiring of respectability, he rejoined the gypsies, was convicted as a vagrant, and transported to Maryland. He managed to escape, helped by friendly Indians, and lived for some time disguised as a Quaker in Pennsylvania. Returning to England, he escaped imprisonment on board a man-of-war by pricking his hands and face and rubbing into the punctures gunpowder and bay salt to simulate small-pox. On his arrival he found his wife and child, and joined the Pretender, accompanying him as a beggar on crutches to Carlisle and Derby. Scenting the failure of the expedition he dropped the cause and his crutches and returned south, changing his tune from "God bless bonny Prince Charlie" to "God bless good King George." Only once was Carew out-Carew:—

"Begging in the town of Maiden Bradley as a shipwrecked sailor, he was accosted by another beggar in the cant language of mumpers. They joined forces, cadged together, and then caroused together. It was decided they should visit the adjacent manor house, and beg in the character of two cast-away mariners. They succeeded in wheedling a cut leg of mutton, a wheaten loaf, and a shilling from the housekeeper. The food was promptly exchanged for liquor at the Green Man Inn, after which the two fell to disputing, and parted, each going his own way. The dénouement is startling. The second beggar was Lord Weymouth, master of the house at which they had begged . . . and he enjoyed the discomfiture of the Beggar King immensely, having planned the whole escapade with great deliberation."

Carew refused the offer of Sir Thomas Carew, of Hackbern, to provide for him if he would relinquish his ways, and continued to pursue a highly successful career of fraud and deception till the end of his life.

Mr. Hackford discusses in an adequate and informing way the genesis of mendicancy, the position of the Church with regard to the poor, hospitals, almshouses and work-houses, Bumbledom and Bedlam, the failure of parochialism, and the evolution of the English rustic. The book is thoughtfully, if not brilliantly, written, and should be read by all who care, or even profess to care, for the welfare of their fellow-men.

THE MEMOIRS OF A JOURNALIST.*

MR. THOMAS CATLING'S memories of his life as a journalist are agreeable, both as a picture of a singularly upright career and as a memorial of a great newspaper house and its most conspicuous work in journalism. Mr. Catling was the fifth editor of "Lloyd's" newspaper; his two immediate predecessors being Douglas Jerrold and his son Blanchard, both of whom were rather literary writers than supervisors of the work of others. "Lloyd's," like the "Daily Chronicle," was, of course, the child of a man of a very different type from any of his editors—Mr. Edward Lloyd. He was a singularly shrewd and able personality, hard in the grain, but with a hard man's virtue of gratitude and with a deep and thoroughly realised belief in the future of the popular Press. He founded "Lloyd's News" in 1842, and when the three great bars to popular journalism—the duty on advertisements, and the stamp and paper duties—were removed, he was the first newspaper proprietor of consequence to grasp the full effect of the change. "Lloyd's," which then—that is to say,

in 1861—had a circulation of about eighty thousand copies, at once became a penny newspaper, and the foundation was laid of the Sunday newspaper of our times, with its vast circulation, running to over a million.

"Lloyd's" was, and is, quite the best of these productions, and it is greatly to Mr. Catling's credit that, against great temptations, he maintained the literary and serious side which the two Jerrolds had given to it. The life told in these pages—a life of fifty-three years, spent in one great publishing-house—practically covers all the chief mechanical developments in modern journalism—the rotary press, the use of the stereotype, and the substitution of the type-setting machine for the compositor's fingers. Edward Lloyd's special gift was shown in the quickness with which he divined the immense possibilities of Colonel Hoe's great invention. He had also the passion for detail of a born man of business. Mr. Catling gives some very amusing examples of his genius for advertisement:—

"A common order in the office was for 'more slips for pailings and gates,' and 'six sheet bills for the rocks in Wales.' The more remote the place for sticking a bill, the more tempting it was to Mr. Lloyd. He was shaved very frequently, and had his hair cut and trimmed several times a day, in order to chat with barbers concerning their neighborhoods, and the possibilities of pushing the paper. A free copy was sent each week to every toll-gate keeper who could be persuaded to put up a bill by the roadside. Another feature consisted in stamping copper coins with his own advertisements, and paying half the wages of the men with this money, so that it should be well distributed. It was a plan that answered admirably, until the Government took action and passed a Bill making it a punishable offence to deface the coin of the realm."

Mr. Catling had a life of his own, apart from the editorship of "Lloyd's," into which he weaves some pleasant contemporary records. He has been for over fifty years a lover and frequenter of the theatre, an habitué of old journalistic clubs, of which, of course, the Savage was the famous centre; and his book retains the impression of sterling worth and great kindness of character and temper, sustained through the embarrassing friction and wearisome diplomacy of an editor's life. It is interesting to know that he was an attendant at Dr. Cumming's early morning services, and he quotes a very brilliant passage from one of them on Douglas Jerrold's death. We know of no modern pulpit oratory which strikes us as anything like so good.

A COMPLETE ARTIST.*

It is customary to think and speak of Mr. Brangwyn as a modern of the moderns. This is perfectly correct in so far as his genius in decorative painting is concerned; but from another point of view it might be said that he is more nearly allied to the medieval artist than any of his contemporaries. For one of his chief qualities is his many-sidedness; and that is a quality one associates very decidedly with the master-minds of the Renaissance, and hardly at all with our picture-painters and sculptors of to-day. That there have been, and are, brilliant exceptions among the latter, men who have excelled both in painting and sculpture, and found time and courage to dabble in the "minor" arts besides, is undoubtedly true; one has only to recall Watts and Whistler, Leighton and Herkomer, Morris (who made the whole world of beauty his range), or even Gilbert, whose Cellini-like variousness makes him more than sculptor. But these and the few others of their kind are only a fraction of the thousands who confine themselves narrowly to picture-painting, more narrowly still to easel picture painting, and, at their narrowest, to one species of easel picture. The essence, on the other hand, of the medieval artist was that he was a craftsman, and that his means of self-expression were not circumscribed by the self-consciousness, the false pride, the silly conventions and prejudices that restrict and waste nine-tenths of the artistic feeling of this country at the present time.

Mr. Brangwyn's versatility, which is one of his two main qualities, is well shown in the sympathetic study of his career and work, which Mr. Shaw Sparrow gives us in the volume under notice. The other quality insisted on by Mr. Sparrow is his "naturalness." We would suggest that the versatility is the inevitable result of the naturalness, for

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surely it is natural to the artistic temperament always to be seeking new outlets for expression. Mr. Brangwyn has hitherto been singularly independent of the conventions. For one thing, he has never allowed himself to be dominated by our exhibition system, which, whatever its overt advantages, has worked most disastrously in the direction of divorcing art from life. Recognising the exhibition's value as a medium of advertisement or sale, he has not kept himself rigorously aloof; but he has used it to serve his purpose, and has not allowed himself, as so many have done, to be used to serve its purpose. This record discloses an amazing variety of media in which he has worked during the forty-three years of his life; and because we hold that such versatility is natural to him, we are far from sharing Mr. Sparrow's apprehension of "danger" arising therefrom, or his rejoicing that Mr. Brangwyn "will decline henceforth to be tempted away from his main work"—meaning, we suppose, decorative painting of the kind that delights us in the Royal Exchange and the Skinners' Hall, and perhaps those huge etchings on zinc that are equally symptomatic of the artist's robustness. We are second to none in our admiration of his "main work"; but we cannot follow the reasoning that would make it appear expedient for him to limit himself to that alone. Hitherto, besides his large output of pictorial and decorative work in oil-painting, water-color, and etching, he has done professionally a host of things which the average painter regards only with a platonic interest. Prompted and encouraged by his early association with Morris, he has designed furniture, wall-papers, and friezes, stained-glass windows, and textiles of every description; and though a period of concentration upon the pictorial decorations with which his name is now chiefly associated might be a good thing, that is surely no reason why he should solemnly covenant with himself never to do another billiard table.

Mr. Sparrow writes with his usual sincerity and logic upon the essential qualities of Mr. Brangwyn's art. Its robust virility, its freedom from anything like pose, its genuine glories of rich, vital color, its bigness of design, its masculinity are duly emphasised and illustrated. Mr. Brangwyn's first important commission in decorative painting was the façade of "Art Nouveau," the late Mr. Bing's art palace in the Rue de Provence, Paris, for which he executed two large panels in fresco on canvas, and a frieze of sixty yards length. Since then Paris has consistently championed him, with far fewer dissentient voices than have made themselves heard over here. The latter circumstance is regrettable, but it is far from uncommon, and Mr. Sparrow makes rather too much of it. He allows the fact that Paris accepted Mr. Brangwyn before some of us did to impel him to a detailed and unnecessary attack upon a great deal of the ephemeral criticism that has appeared on Mr. Brangwyn's work during the last decade. He has pages of extracts, accompanied by caustic or fulsome comments, in accordance with the displeasure or satisfaction that the extracts give him. If, as Mr. Sparrow says, a lot of nonsense has been written about Mr. Brangwyn, why immortalise it? However, with the exception of this combativeness, from which nothing really useful appears to emerge, and of a somewhat comically inaccurate description of the Cinque Port of Sandwich, we have nothing but praise for a book that deals so interestingly with one of our most complete and gifted artistic personalities. The illustrations, after making due allowances for the shortcomings of a color process compelled to cope with the difficulties of reproducing singularly rich and powerful originals, are wonderfully successful mementoes of Mr. Brangwyn's art.

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the agency of a bad spirit, and the simple-minded people set to work to deceive this spirit so that his persecution may cease. In some cases they go to the length of having a mock funeral, loudly lamenting the child's death, so that the evil spirit may be led into leaving the house. They are also kind to their aged folk, though, except in the case of babies, they do not seem to be greatly grieved by the death of relatives. "Death and its mystery is not talked of in a whisper, but is a favorite topic of discussion in Shan homes. They do not think of death as a calamity that only comes once to change the whole course of existence; they think of dying as an incident in life, a change from one life to another, an event that has already happened to them all a great many times." The Buddhist doctrine, as taught by the monks, that, after death, soul as well as body is dissolved, is rejected by most of the people, though the Buddhist commandments and general belief are accepted. The monks are the teachers of the community and give lessons in reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as in an odd form of geography. They are remarkably broad-minded, and dispense charity without respect to the religious opinions of the recipients. Most aspects of Shan life are touched upon in Mrs. Milne's highly entertaining volume, and in the concluding chapters there is an account of Shan cosmogony, Shan literature (including some diverting tales), and Shan folk-lore

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THE title of Mr. Herbert M. Vaughan's "The Last Stuart Queen: Louise, Countess of Albany" (Duckworth, 16s. net) is hardly an accurate description of its contents, for, strictly speaking, Princess Louise of Stolberg-Gedern, whose biography it relates, was neither a queen nor a Stuart. Her marriage with the Young Pretender on Good Friday, 1772, brought her little happiness. She was nineteen and he fifty, and though the disparity of years might have been no bar to happiness, Charles Edward's treatment of his young wife forced her to desert him in 1781. Her position was all the more difficult, because Alfieri, who assisted her escape, was said by Charles Edward to be her lover. But her brother-in-law, the Cardinal of York, gave her his protection, and at last a legal separation was arranged by Gustavus III. of Sweden. The Countess's intrigue with Alfieri lasted until the poet's death in 1803, and in opposition to some of her biographers, Mr. Vaughan holds that "the belated attempts to accuse her of infidelity or ingratitude towards her Friend are not only false, but also malevolent." He admits, however, that "her life from the first was far from being free from deceit, selfishness, and ingratitude." She survived Alfieri for twenty years, keeping her *salon* at Florence, meeting Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Byron, Sismondi, Rogers, Canova, and other men of European reputation; and, as her biographer says, growing hard and cynical, and acquiring a love of gossip which sometimes proved mischievous. Perhaps the best feature of her life was her passion for Alfieri, which, as Mr. Vaughan says, was "sincere, unselfish, and imperishable," however much it was open to censure.

* * *

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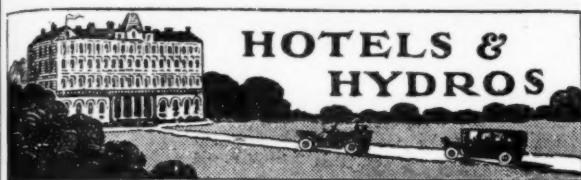
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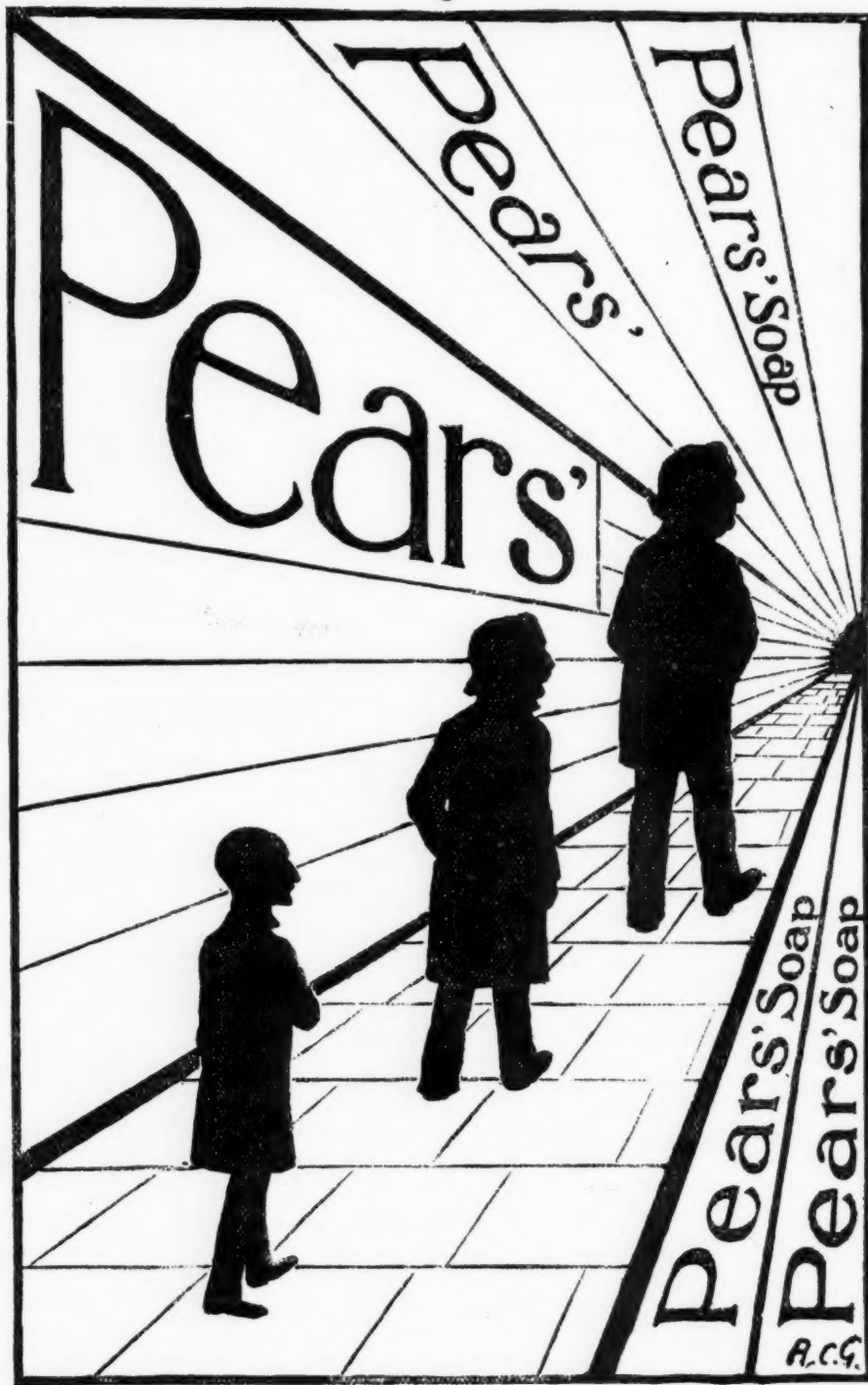
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